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G. BAILEY, *Washington, D. C.*

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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For the National Era.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A NEW ENGLAND GIRL.

BY MARTHA RUSSELL.

CHAPTER XXV.

I was up very early next morning, for my walk to the Ridge; but early as it was, Mr. Annesley had the start of me. As I passed out to the garden to gather the usual boquet of flowers for the breakfast table, I heard him giving orders about his horse to one of the boys in the back yard. I did not hear what he said distinctly, but I fancied he was going to the Ridge, too; and, for once, I wished that I had indeed the power of locomotion which he had hinted at the evening before—the witch's broom-stick—for, by the shortest cut I could take, I could not hope to forestall black Sapor's speed, even if I dared to risk meeting his master in old Alice's presence.

I had now seen enough to know what old Hannah Smith meant, when, in reference to Miss Agnes's marriage, she had said, "If Mr. Ralph said a thing warn't proper, she'd like to know who would say it was"—and I felt sure that he would draw my secret, or something that would lead to my betrayal, from old Alice, in spite of herself.

I was a long time gathering my flowers that morning, and the sun was already up when I reached the garden gate, over which I found Mr. Annesley leaning.

"Good morning, Miss Ray. You are early with your flowers—or, were they crop't by magic moonlight?"

"By dawn light, rather, sir, for I have but now gathered them."

He reached out his hand, took my boquet, saying—

"Carnations, gilliflowers, phlox, marigold—

'These are flowers
Of middle summer, and I think are given
To men of middle age!'"

He selected two or three, and gave back the boquet, without manifesting the slightest disposition to change his position, and let me pass.

"What a glorious morning, Miss Lina. See, how the level sunbeams light up the wood, and brighten the face of the old Cliff up yonder. The whole scene is fresh and bright as a boy's dreams of life—and, will fade as quickly!"

"Not fade, but change—deepen into the genial, healthy, fructifying heat of noonday. Why should not the youth's dreams do the same?"

"Because of the world, the flesh, and the devil. But I forget—you are no believer in the god Circumstance, Miss Ray; and, on such a morning as this, I am half inclined to accept your doctrine, and defy him. But I am no boy; at this late day, '*Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle.*' Is it not so, Miss Ray?"

"I think not. Few people live to completely exhaust their capacity for happiness or usefulness, and the strength born of a struggle is in itself a rich reward."

"What a little preacher you are! So you really think that there is hope for one like me, who have, especially upon a morning like this, the delightful consciousness of having frittered away my best years in the round of selfish, idle, petty, commonplace pleasures—*sins,* if you will—which the world—the rich world, I mean—calls life!"

"I do."

"But the means, child?"

"Faith in God and yourself, sir."

He lifted his hat reverently at *that* name, and stood for some seconds with the fresh breeze lifting his black locks.

"True," he said at last, "but I am human—human, child. Am I to have no human aid?"

"The warm wishes and earnest prayers of all who love you, sir."

He shook his head.

"The aid will be feeble enough, then, little friend, for most of those are under the sod."

"They may not be the less efficient helpers for that, sir," I said, earnestly, touched by the change in his voice; and, besides, you are still young—you have health and energy, courage and perseverance, a keen intellect and a kind heart—and we are are told that 'our valors are our best gods.'"

He looked at me keenly, while I shrunk a little in confusion at the recollection that I had been speaking from my early knowledge of him, and not from what our recent acquaintance would warrant.

"I believe you are right. Were you thinking of that apothegm a short time since, when you rose from gathering your flowers, and faced the rising sun with such a firm-set mouth and decided *pose* of the head?"

"It might have been—I have often had occasion to think of it, sir. Will it please you to let me pass?"

He opened the gate for me, and passed up the box-edged walk by my side.

"You should like this stout evergreen, Miss Ray," he said, as he broke off a twig; "it preaches you our doctrine—self-reliance."

"And trust," I said, as I took the sprig he offered.

"You like Highcliff," he rejoined, pausing and glancing back over the broad valley, now glittering with yesterday's rain.

"Yes—I think I never saw the country so beautiful as this summer."

"Yet you have passed your life there, I understand."

"Yes—but in a school, and"——

"I understand you saw it only from the *pons asinorum,* or through a microscope. There comes Elliott's boy!"—a lad was coming up the avenue—"and instead of a gallop to the Ridge, I shall have to attend that cursed meeting of stockholders at White Plains."

I certainly felt no disposition to sympathize with his vexation, and, leaving him with the lad, quietly slipped into the house with my flowers, secured a cup of coffee and a mouthful of breakfast in the kitchen, and set off for the Ridge.

I had crossed the ravine, and was descending into a little wooded dell, when I saw a young girl coming towards me rapidly. It was Jenny Joyce, and she was crying as only children can cry; and it was some time before I could quiet her so far as to get an intelligible account of her grief. Aunt Alice was sick, and little Billy too—oh, so sick, and they talked so strangely. Aunt Alice kept calling for some one, and her mother thought it might be me. Would I be so good as to come and see her, mother had sent her to ask."

"How long has she been sick?"

"Three days—since Monday. The next day, Billy was took."

"Have you had a doctor?"

"They had sent last night, by Mr. Morris's boy, to have him come in the morning."

I went back to the woods below the Cliff, where I knew little Jim Brown would be at that time, with his cows, and bade him go home and tell Miss Annesley that Alice Ross was sick, and I should not probably be home as early as I anticipated.

I found both Alice and the boy in a burning fever—both delirious; and the former, as the child said, talking wildly about the "Pines, her old master, and Philip's child." Sometimes she spoke of Miss Lina, and that had led her neice to send for me. I could only administer a plenty of cold water, and wait patiently for the arrival of the physician. Widow Joyce seemed completely struck down by this new calamity, but little Jenny took courage from my presence, and proved a most efficient helper. The physician came at last. He examined them minutely, while he tried to draw from Widow Joyce some account of the action of the disease in its earliest stages.

"You say the woman was taken first. Where has she been?"

"Nowhere, sir. She has not been a half mile from the house since she came here, last spring."

"Whom have you had here?"

"No one. Miss Ray, there, called two weeks or more ago, and Mr. Morris's boys stop for water when they come up to work."

He seemed perplexed.

"Has the boy been at home all the while?"

"He came from York eight or ten days ago, sir."

"You say she was attacked first?"

"Yes—she had been making up some clothes for Bill, that his father sent up to him, but she had to give up before she got 'em finished."

"Do you know where the clothes came from?"

"No—the lad's father very often sends up such things. Alice washed 'em, and they looked a'most as good as new. Poor boy—maybe he'll never want 'em, or she ever finish 'em!" and the poor woman burst into a flood of tears.

The Doctor beckoned me out of the room.

"Young lady," he said, gravely, "I feel bound to tell you that I think this disease is ship fever—brought here, probably, in those garments. I may be mistaken—I trust I am—but it is unwise for you to remain here."

"Do you think they will die?"

"I cannot say; I shall do what I can, but I fear it is too late."

"The disease is very contagious, is it not?"

"It is so considered."

"Then it will be equally unsafe for me to return to my home, for I have been here three hours. I will remain, and assist Mrs. Joyce. If you, sir, will have the kindness to send a note to Highcliff for me, I shall be very grateful."

"No, no, Miss; you must not do this. There are many chances that you will escape now; but scarcely one, if you remain."

"But I have no right to expose others, sir. It is better to remain, and meet whatever result God may order. I am not afraid."

"But your friends, young lady."

"I have none, sir; I am alone in the world. Or none but my mistress, Miss Annesley, of Highcliff, who can easily supply my place," I added, seeing his puzzled look.

He took two or three strides across the patch of greensward, for we were without the door; then came up to me, and, taking my hand, placed his fingers on my wrist.

"Pulse firm and even; you are a brave girl, and there is some reason in what you say. But"——

He let go my hand, and began his walk again.

"Doctor," I said, seeing him not inclined to speak, "in case your fears are realized, will you have the goodness to look after me, and see that all things are done decently. I have sufficient means in Miss Annesley's hands, I hope, to pay you."

He came up to me again, (he was a tall man, with gray hair and whiskers, reminding me of Mr. Cavendish,) and said, earnestly—

"That I will, my child, if I have to nurse you myself. But first you must promise to put yourself under my care from this moment, and implicitly follow my directions as to diet and exercise."

I promised, and we went within, where I wrote a note for Miss Annesley, briefly stating my reasons for not returning, or such as I might state; for I could not speak of my wish to stay by old Alice; and the Doctor departed, leaving me to my task.

It was well for me that I had been bred inland, and therefore knew nothing of the disease. To me it was like any other fever, to be avoided, if possible; if not, to be met with a brave face, and trust in God—therefore, I could not share the physician's fears. Besides, I was young and strong, with a nervous system in perfect health; and to such, death always seems an anomaly, or an accident, rather than an inevitable fate. But I had little time for thought; the patients claimed all my care, and it was near sunset before I could go out to take the fresh air, as I had promised Dr. Clark. I wandered over the hill, and seated myself on a rock, to watch the sun sinking below the blue line of the Highlands; but was soon roused by the measured tread of a horse's feet upon the other side of the hill. "It is Mr. Annesley!" I said, and hurried back in time to meet him, just as he sprang from his saddle beneath the old poplars.

"Well met, Miss Ray!" he said. "So, the lad's tale was true; you have not joined your own folk, 'the good people o' the green wood,' but are caring for my old friend, like a veritable Sister of Mercy, as you are. I thought to meet you on the road. I hope her illness is not serious, that you stay so late."

He spoke pleasantly, almost gaily; and I thought I had never seen his face wear such a bright and genial look before, as when, flinging his horse's bridle over the fence, he confronted me.

"She is very ill, sir," I returned, purposely leaning upon the little gate which gave entrance to the yard; and I sent Miss Annesley a note by Dr. Clark, saying that I should not return to-night. I hoped it would reach her before this."

"I don't think it has, as she said nothing about it, only spoke of your message by the boy. I am sorry to hear bad news of Alice," he added, with a look of concern. She is a very old friend, and it is kind of you to stay by her. I wanted to speak with her on business; but if she is so ill, I will only look in a moment, and postpone that until another time."

I made no reply, but set about devising some excuse to prevent him from seeing her, as I felt he would insist upon doing if he knew her danger.

Noting my silence, he added, with a significant smile, "Do you bear malice, Miss Ray, for my impudence this morning, that you thus keep me waiting for admittance? It is getting dark, and Sapor and I may chance to find ourselves at the bottom of some one of these deep gullies, unless we wait for the moon."

"You must not see Alice Ross to-night, Mr. Annesley; indeed you must not enter the house at all," I said, hastily, for, in speaking, he had laid his hand on the gate.

"Must not! And what is to prevent me, may I ask?" he said, impatiently. "If she is ill, who should see her but her oldest, best friend! Let me pass, Miss Ray!"

"Not if by so doing he perils his own life, and those of others," I returned, without moving. "Alice Ross and her nephew are dying of ship fever."

"And you here! Oh, my God! were you mad, that you must come here, girl?"

His voice was deep, almost stern; and I spoke at once to the point, where I supposed his thoughts tended.

"I was not coming back to Highcliff, sir. I would not bring danger there for the world. I told Miss Annesley so in my note. Indeed, sir"——but, stung by his misapprehension, as I fancied, of me, I found it impossible to go on. He did not seem to heed it, but broke in, quickly—

"Worse and worse! It is not that, but that you should have come here at all. Not going back to Highcliff! You will go, and with me this night." He put out his hand, as if to move me away.

"No, sir," I said, without heeding the movement, "I shall not return. I came here in ignorance; but had I known the danger, I trust I should have had strength given to come; for, otherwise, these people must suffer for lack of care. I shall take every precaution against infection, for life is all I possess, and I am not ready to give it up; but, at the worst, there is no one to whom my death would bring more than a passing regret. With you, sir, it is different. You must not go in; you can do Alice Ross no good, only expose your valuable life to danger."

"My valuable life! Much you know of it! Who taught you to estimate lives! Am I to understand that you refuse to return with me?"

"Yes, sir."

"Then stand aside." But he gave me no time to obey; with one hand, he firmly but gently put me aside, and, passing in, strode on to the house.

He stood long over the bed of old Alice, who was in one of the fits of stupidity that succeeded her raving delirium. He did not speak, but I saw his eye soften and his whole face grow sad, as he turned away. He walked to the boy's bed, looked at him in the same silent way; then, with a kind word to the widow, asked me to walk with him to the gate.

"You were right; Alice Ross is indeed dying, and I am too late," he observed, sadly, as we passed slowly down the path. "You have been with her all day, Miss Ray; has she ever a lucid interval?"

"She has had none to-day, sir. Her delirium has been followed by stupor, such as you have seen."

"Upon what does her mind seem run in her delirium? Does she speak of the Cavendish family, and their affairs?"

"She does, sir."

"I wish"——he paused a second, then added, "But you will have enough to see to, and she could tell me, after all, nothing more than I know already. Now, about the means for their comfort and yours. They must need many things?"

"I presume so, for Mrs. Joyce has been ill herself, and there are no prophets in these days to fill the widow's cruse."

"No; but money is still potent, and I will see that they lack nothing."

We were at the gate; he paused, looked at me earnestly a moment—pityingly, I thought, before he added—

"Miss Ray, I am what men call rich. Hitherto, I have lavished my wealth chiefly upon myself. I would gladly spend it more wisely. Will you return to Highcliff, and let me get one or a half dozen nurses from the city? I ask it as a personal favor."

I shook my head. "You forget, sir, that I have the safety of others to consult."

He turned abruptly away, I feared in anger; but immediately, retracing his steps, took my hand, and said, in a tone that made my heart glow, "God bless you, my brave little girl!" The next moment he had vaulted upon Sapor, and was forcing him down hill at his usual break-neck pace.

It was a weary task that I had assumed, rendered still more so by the terror and inefficiency of widow Joyce, whose low, despairing moans, or wild bursts of tears, were almost as hard to hear as the ravings of the fever-stricken. Little Jenny tried to keep up a brave spirit. Dr. Clark was faithful and kind, but, next to God, my chief help and support was Mr. Annesley. Not content with supplying us with every possible comfort, he came every day, in spite of the entreaties and commands which I still continued to urge, though I could not repress a feeling of pleasure at the sight of his face and the firm grasp of his hand. It was selfish, I know, but I could not help it. His manner was frank and cordial, yet so perfectly respectful—a little imperious at times, when I crossed him; but that did not trouble me, and it was a rare pleasure to me to listen to his conversation. His mind was original, vigorous, and highly cultivated by books and experience; and I think the conversations, at first commenced to amuse and interest my over-wearied mind, were often continued as much for his own pleasure as mine; for he possessed the rare faculty of communicating his ideas clearly and vividly, and he seemed to take pleasure in describing to one as unsophisticated as myself the strange countries he had visited, or in opening to me glimpses of the great world. Then he was so gentle and patient with the sick, so careful of their wants, that I sometimes wondered if he were indeed the same person as the impatient, sarcastic master of Highcliff.

On the morning of the fifth day, old Alice ceased to breathe. I think for the last half hour she was fully conscious, though unable to speak, and happy in the thought that her master's child would close her eyes.

"True friend and faithful servant!" said Mr. Annesley, as we stood by her grave (we had made it close by the side of widow Joyce's children's, beneath a spreading beech) that night, after the few men who had assisted at the interment had departed. "If Philip Cavendish have a child, as she believed, she shall yet build her monument!"

She did, reader!

From that time, the symptoms of the boy grew more favorable, and the contest between Mr. Annesley's will and my sense of right commenced. He would have me go *home* immediately. Had he known what a magic power that word had, uttered by his lips, he would have spared me the torture of the temptation. But I stood firm; and he went away, looking angry and annoyed. He did not return the next day, nor the next, and the time passed wearily and slowly enough. I knew, then, how much he had helped me; but on the third day he drove up with Dr. Clark, and handed me a note from Miss Annesley, saying, "There—disobey that if you dare!"

It was a request for me to come home. I might have the east bed room, which was quite remote from the rooms occupied by the family. Though she understood from Ralph that Dr. Clark thought the critical period for me was past, still it was best to be cautious. But even if he was mistaken, Jane offered to wait on me; and she should feel much less anxious, to have me at Highcliff, than if I remained with Joyce, where Ralph was confident I could not be comfortable," &c.

It was like Miss Anne, but I felt there had been another influence behind her, and I suppose my face expressed my thought, for, as I looked up, and met Mr. Annesley's eye, he said, smiling—

"Ask Clark yourself, Miss Lina! Then, if you believe not Moses and the Prophets, I shall exert my authority as patriarch of the family, and take you by force. Those old Jewish laws must have been admirable in some cases!"

The Doctor re-affirmed his opinion, as stated by Miss Annesley. He "thought the disease would have shown itself before, had I taken it. I had best keep quiet for a day or two—he would look in and see me," &c.

Miss Annesley had taken the precaution to send me a change of clothes. My toilette was soon made; and breaking away from the widow and little Jenny, whom Mr. Annesley promised to see after, I found myself summarily lifted into the carriage, and driven at a rapid pace over what was to me a new and circuitous route to Highcliff. Our drive was a silent one, for my companion seemed occupied with his own thoughts, and I was too busy recalling the ride I had taken with him ten years before to disturb him, had I dared to do so. The day was rather chilly for the season, and once or twice, as the wind swept down between the hills, he turned to ask me if I was cold, or muttered a curse on his folly in neglecting to take another shawl.

As we drove up to the house, Miss Annesley kissed her hand to me from the window, and tossed me a boquet of flowers. We passed round to the side door, that led to my new quarters, which I was glad enough to gain, the rapid motion of the carriage having made me a little sick and dizzy. I did not like to mention it, when Mr. Annesley came to the door to know if I was comfortable, thinking that the cup of tea Jane had just brought would drive it away. One thing only I missed from my room—Ollie's box—and before I dismissed Jane, I made her bring it. My ride had stirred deeply the memories of my childish days, and I had a strange longing to look at the mementoes it contained before I slept. But the pictures in the "Whale Book" grew dim before my aching eyes. Even Mr. Annesley's boyish face—for *that,* too, was still with those treasures—looked blurred and indistinct. I remember getting up that night for water to quench the horrible thirst that consumed me—of attempting to reach the pitcher upon the wash-stand—of its slipping from my hot, trembling hands, as I grasped it, and—no more.

LIFE IN PARIS.

PARIS, *June* 4, 1857.

Arrival of the King of Bavaria at Fontainebleau and Paris—His Visit to the Grand Opera—The Ballet the Corsair—the Imperial State Box—The Ball given to the King by the City of Paris—The Fairy-like Decoration of the Hotel de Ville—Failure and Defalcation of European Bankers—Artesian Wells for Water and Gas—A Landlord on the point of being Lynched—State of the Crops—Dissatisfaction of the People, and its Cause—An Attempt made by the Catholic Clergy in Belgium to Increase its Influence, and its Defeat—Mr. Hume's Return to Paris.

To the Editor of the National Era:

In my last, I mentioned the arrival of another Royal guest at the French Court. King Maximilian I of Bavaria was received by the Emperor at Fontainebleau, where every possible variety of amusement was resorted to, to make him pass his time agreeably; stag hunts, promenades, and *fêtes champetres,* followed in rapid succession.

The people of Fontainebleau made hay while the sun shone, and the curious were shorn as close as Silesian sheep.

On Sunday, the 24th of May, the flag upon the *Pavillon de l'Horloge* gave notice that the Emperor and his royal guest were in town.

Tuesday evening, the 26th of May, by order, the celebrated ballet, "The Corsair," was performed at the grand opera. Strangers rushed to the Bureau of Location to engage places—and more than usual on such occasions were accommodated, for several reasons: in the first place, the King of Bavaria is only a German Sovereign; secondly, the fashionables have already taken their departure for the country; thirdly, the old nobility never honors these representations with its presence; consequently, the greater part of the boxes were filled with strangers, the most of whom were English of the homeliest kind, adding but little to the brilliancy on that occasion. Their dark-colored, antifog dresses, cast-iron bonnets, and copper-wire ringlets, contrasted painfully with the brilliant assemblage in the first tier of boxes, where the wives of the high officers displayed their dazzling toilets.

The house was well lighted; but a larger portion of the assembly not being in keeping with the rest, the *tout ensemble* was not very grand.

The external display was much more imposing; two detachments of the Imperial Guard were stationed before the richly-decorated vestibule of the opera house, a regiment of police officers, gen-d'armes on horseback, disguised police officers and spies, in numbers not to be estimated, made a great array, leaving those who did not enter to infer that the inside show was beyond ordinary grandeur.

When the Emperor entered the Imperial box, a number of commissioned *claqueurs* raised a tremendous shout, *Vive l'Empereur!* but it died on their lips, without producing the least echo; the ladies in the first tier of boxes rose, and stood up until their Majesties were seated.

Three unharmonious knocks on the stage floor was a signal for the orchestra to begin; the curtain rose, and the dancers went through their different *pas* with wonderful precision; Rosati danced admirably—surpassed herself, and was much applauded.

The last scene is an extraordinary stage production, and is well worth witnessing. The Corsair escapes at last with his lady love, and a whole regiment of young female attendants bring them safely on board of his vessel, which rides gallantly over the agitated sea, proud of its lovely freight. The fair cargo enjoys a brisk breeze, cyprian wine, and a dance in which the sailors join; but a squall unexpectedly changes the scene of joy into one of extreme anguish; and, in a few seconds more, all is darkness, the winds howl, the thunder rolls more and more furiously, and the vessel dances like a nutshell on the waves, when a thunderbolt strikes the mainmast, and sinks the vessel. Flashes of lightning occasionally afford a glimpse of the poor wretches floating about the sea; they gradually disappear to unknown depths, except the Corsair and his Medora, who are seen wafted by a heavy surf towards a rocky shore.

Here the curtain falls, and the imagination is left to suppose that they are saved.

The Emperor's state box is a grand show for a republican. In the centre sat the Emperor, in a general's uniform; to his left, the King of Bavaria, in the blue uniform of the Bavarian guards; next to him sat the Empress, dressed in white tulle, (the under skirt was of white silk, with several plain tulle skirts over it, lastly a skirt of six flounces, each flounce having three tucks, half an inch in width, run with floss silk, and very near each other—under the flounces there were tufts of daisies, bound with long grass, hanging out a little below the flounces, about nine inches from each other, all around the skirt—the sleeves and bertha were trimmed in the same style;) next to her sat Prince Napoleon, the once hopeful heir. The Grand Duchess of Baden and Princess Mathilde sat on the right of the Emperor. The Duke of Malakoff, covered with stars and ribbons, stood near Prince Napoleon; behind their Majesties there was a mass of gentlemen, in red, green, and blue embroidered coats, and ladies in waiting, no less in number, attentively watching the slightest motion made by their imperial and royal masters.

The grand ball that came off at the Hotel de Ville on Thursday evening last, in honor of the King of Bavaria, was equal in magnificence and brilliancy to those given in honor of the Queen of England, the King of Sardinia, the King of Portugal, and the one given within the month of May to Duke Constantine.

As usual, strangers had more or less difficulty in procuring tickets; and, as may be well understood, the number of blondes that belong to that nation of enthusiastic waltzers, were among the most fortunate on that occasion. The number of guests was between six and seven thousand. Notwithstanding the change in the weather, the heat was a general cause of complaint; and at times, the buffets, placed in every part of the building, where refreshments were furnished in abundance, were so crowded, that those within found as much difficulty in tasting what they firmly held, as those without had in procuring anything at all.

These *fêtes* are perhaps more interesting, though certainly not so dazzling, to the residents as to strangers; for, with the exception of the old building, everything undergoes a general change on each and every occasion.

A tent, hung with crimson velvet fringed with gold and richly carpeted, was erected at the principal entrance, where the King and his suite, and other honored guests, alighted from gaudy state coaches, a little past ten o'clock, escorted by *Les Dragons de l'Impératrice.*

The procession passed through immense crowds, gathered on the sides of the way leading from the Tuilleries to the Hotel de Ville, the façade of which was blazing with gay lights. M. Haussmann, Prefect of Paris, with various distinguished members of the Municipal Council, received his Majesty, and conducted him to the Cour Louis XIV, with the splendor of which the King seemed forcibly struck.

The magnificence of this large Court is wonderful. Roofed over with glass, and draped with tents of silk—and from the walls of the building, enclosing the Court, flags and banners were gracefully floating—the whole was brilliantly illuminated with masses of ground glass lamps, and decorated in the most exquisite style, with flowers, statuary, and rich tapestry. The windows of the apartments above, looking into the Court, were one mass of lovely faces, richly adorned. A double staircase leads up to the principal apartments, every nook and corner of which were filled with the most gaudy plants in full bloom. Ten thousand dollars were spent in flowers alone.

Proceeding to the *Galérie des Fêtes,* his Majesty was met by Prince Napoleon, Princess Mathilde, and a number of other high personages; his arrival was made known to all present by the Strauss band, consisting of 125 musicians, striking up the Bavarian national air. After a few salutations and a short conversation with the ladies, the quadrille of honor was formed. His Majesty, who was dressed in a short blue tunic of the Bavarian service, and long white trowsers decorated with the grand cordon of the Legion of Honor, first danced with Princess Mathilde, and had for *vis-à-vis* Prince Napoleon and Princess Murat Wagram; the side couples were—Mr. Haussmann, the Prefect, and the Baroness de Wendland, wife of the Bavarian Ambassador; the Austrian Ambassador, with Countess Hatzfeld, wife of the Prussian Minister; Prince Murat, with the wife of the Minister of Saxony. In the second quadrille, the King stood up with Mrs. Haussmann; Mr. Haussmann and Princess Mathilde were the *vis-à-vis.* In the same quadrille, Marshal Pelissier, (Duc de Malakoff) danced with the younger Miss Haussmann, a regular Alsacian belle, and acquitted himself in a manner fully to respond to the graceful bearing of his youthful partner. The elder Miss Haussmann danced, opposite to her sister, with the Prince de la Tour de Taxis.

The King dances well, gracefully, and with great animation. The contagion rapidly spread; all thought themselves at liberty to follow an example set by his Majesty; and, strange as it may seem, the listless youths of the present day were adequate to the task. Waltzing followed; and, though the King took no part in his national dances, it was indulged in with unusual vivacity, from ten until one o'clock, when his Majesty, after thanking the Prefect and the city of Paris for the sumptuous hospitality offered to him, took his departure; it was a subject of remark, that he had been but once seated, and then only for twenty or thirty minutes.

The failure of another Parisian banker gives rise to severe comments on the moral depravity of French financiers. Not many weeks past, the American firm, Green & Co., stopped payment, placing many Americans travelling on this Continent in the most embarrassing predicament. Some American artists, who had placed their money with that firm, lost every cent, and were obliged to borrow money enough to take them home. Endless efforts are made to set them on their feet once more; but that banking house can never again inspire confidence enough to prosper. This failure was followed by the donouements of the Docks Napoleon, where twelve millions were robbed by the directors.

This week, the banker Thurneysen swartwouted to some unknown parts, and the deficit is estimated at twenty millions of francs, leaving a host of ruined creditors behind. Charles Thurneysen, a relation, is one of the directors of the Credit Mobilier. Fifteen years ago, Count Potoski placed upwards of five millions of dollars in the hands of Rothshield, Rongement, and Thurneysen; but, having been prisoner in some Russian fort ever since, he had not touched a cent of the interest, which, when added to the capital, amounts to more than the original sum. Thurneysen had two millions of dollars of this capital.

The *Gazette des Tribuneaux* of yesterday gives the judgment against some of the directors of the French "Whalebone Company," in consequence of a transaction similar to that of the Dock Napoleon, and the director Malvergne, a banker, was sent to the penitentiary.

Should the least thunder-cloud collect in the political firmament, the great financial humbug of the present day, the Credit Mobilier, would burst, and carry along with it nine-tenths of all those flourishing schemes now in vogue.

The cashier of the National Bank of Vienna risked so largely to win the great prize in the lottery, that he exhausted his own means, and about one million of francs belonging to the bank. When his wife heard of his defalcation, she was so much affected that she soon died, leaving three children of tender years.

By the last of June, Mr. Kind, the German engineer, who conducts the operation of the artesian well at Passy, hopes to reach the vein of water he is seeking. The same engineer is engaged to sink a shaft, of 1,500 feet in depth, into the lowest strata of the coal formation at Hainaut, in Belgium, where there is supposed to be an inexhaustible reservoir of gas, which will be used for lighting the surrounding cities.

House rents are still rising here, and the working classes have so much difficulty in making enough to exist, that they are beginning to be very much exasperated. A few days since, a landlord informed his tenants (consisting of workmen) of another heavy increase of rent. The wives, who were then at home, received the news with indignation, and rushed from all the stories, armed with formidable weapons, to the porter's lodge, where the landlord had fled for protection. The row attracted a crowd, and, when the cause of the broil became known, the cry was vehemently vociferated, hang him! hang him! The police fortunately got there in time to prevent the execution of the threat.

The state of the crops is most favorably reported from all parts of France, and we hope that bread and meat will become cheaper.

The people are getting tired of the continual visits of Kings and Princes, and ascribe the increase of rents and taxes to the enormous sums spent for such extravagances—as, for instance, the Emperor, desiring to show the King of Bavaria the new Louvre in all its grandeur, on his arrival at the Tuileries, expressed a wish to have the ponderous scaffolding removed, that hid the building, now completed.

An Imperial suggestion being equivalent to an order, the architect set hundreds of men to work to cut the timbers; and, before the Emperor returned to Paris, accompanied by his royal guest, that enormous mass fell to the ground with a frightful crash, destroying a great quantity of valuable timber.

According to the latest statistical accounts, the number of paupers in Belgium amounts to nearly one-fourth of its whole population; that of seven provinces alone is estimated at 3,831,992, and of that number there are 850,154 inscribed indigents. The Catholic clergy, having always enjoyed more or less influence over the army of paupers, hoped to extend it by inducing the legislative body to pass a law investing them with supreme power over the hospitals, poor-houses, houses of refuge, primary, free, evening, and Sunday schools, and all other institutions of a charitable character. Since the 21st of April last, this law has been under consideration—the Catholic and liberal parties have battled with all their energy, on the one side, to extend the power of the priesthood, and on the other to extend the cause of justice, civil benevolence, and liberty. Towards the latter part of May, the excitement grew more and more intense, and the citizens of Brussels, belonging to the enlightened classes, made a formidable demonstration to demand the withdrawal of the bill, to which the Catholic party was obliged to consent, and both Chambers adjourned. The last news from there is far from being pacific, and the King had called out the militia to maintain order.

After a short visit to the United States, Mr. Hume has returned to Paris, for the education of his sister; and he again promises to hold communication with the spirits. He asserts that the chairs, tables, plates, and tumblers, went through numerous fantastic evolutions on the vessel in which he returned to the Continent; but we are inclined to infer, from what we have heard through other sources, that it was the natural consequence of rough weather, and not entirely owing to his presence.

A census of New Bedford, Mass., just taken, conformably with the amendments to the State Constitution recently adopted, in order to afford a basis for the apportionment of Senatorial and Representative districts, shows a population of 21,663 persons, and 4,934 voters. By the census of 1855, the inhabitants numbered 20,389.

For the National Era.

CLARE.

BY RUTH HARPER.

The lady spoke to Magdalene:
"Go where the rose-tree tall,
All laden full with mossy blooms,
Leans o'er the church-yard wall.

"Bring me one fairest cluster thence,
Of buds and roses white;
For I must breathe their fragrance sweet
Before I sleep to-night."

Away the little maiden ran,
With steps all careless fleet,
That crushed the purple violets
Upspringing round her feet.

The birds were singing shrilly sweet,
From boughs that drooped around;
The pebbly brook flowed swiftly by,
With soft and rippling sound.

And one by one faint sounds grew clear,
In the deepening hush of night,
As one by one flash golden stars
Through evening's waning light.

All unawares, bright Magdalene
Hushed her own childish song,
Trod unawares with slower step
The grassy slope along.

The calm, entrancing loveliness,
The mystic twilight hour,
Folded around her guileless heart
Its spell of sweetest power.

"For whom dost bind in fragrant sheaf
Those roses mossy fair?"
The little maiden upward glanced,
"For the gentle Lady Clare.

"She dwells in yonder turret gray,
Where the elmen trees lift high
Their waving wreaths of summer green,
To the blue of the summer sky.

"And better than every fairest flower
That in the garden grows,
Or in greenest depths of wild-wood shade,
She loves the white moss rose."

From the highest branch a spray he broke
Of buds, and a rose half-blown,
And one in its beauty's fullest pride,
And bound them all in one.

He bound them with a golden chain,
Link wrought in link so fine;
"Take these to the lady Clare," he said,
"And bid her mark the sign.

"And tell the lady Clare," he said,
"That the sea is deep and wide,
But death itself hath not the power
The loving to divide."

All death-white grew the lady's cheek,
And then, as winter's snow
Shines in the blood-red meteor's gleam,
It flushed with crimson glow;

Then pale again, nor evermore
Came back life's rosy tide;
Before the summer blooms were gone,
The lady drooped and died.

Under the rose-tree by the wall,
They made her pleasant grave.
Her lover's sleep is calm and deep,
Beyond the ocean wave.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE DUCHESS OF DEVONSHIRE.

Who has not heard of Georgiana Spencer, the beautiful Duchess of Devonshire, Lord Spencer's eldest daughter, the gayest of the gay—the loveliest where all were lovely? Yet how little is now known about her. No "diary," like that left by the entertaining Pepys, has yet been published, to perpetuate her influence, and preserve her sayings and her doings; and the lively Walpole, when the lovely Duchess was in full blossom of her popularity, had become tired of describing the little events and traits of fashionable existence—

"Who gave the ball, or paid the visit last."

Of this beautiful Duchess, it is told that she interested herself so much in the return to Parliament of Mr. Fox for the city of Westminster, at a very severely-contested election, that she went about from square to street, and from lane to alley, to solicit the votes of the electors for that illustrious statesman. Her winning manners won many votes, while her lively address and the charming novelty of so fair a canvasser turned the full tide of the election in favor of Mr. Fox. It is confidently told, that a young and good-looking butcher in Clare market declined to accede to the Duchess's request without a bribe; he did not want money, he said, but he wanted something else. "Well, name your want," said the lovely Duchess of Devonshire. "Why," replied the butcher, with a blush, "a kiss would carry the day." "If that's all," said the Duchess—the butcher kissed her, gave a plumper for Mr. Fox, and dragged all Clare market at his heels.

The Duchess sat to Reynolds and to Gainsborough. The portrait of Reynolds is well known; but Gainsborough gave up her likeness in despair. She was then in the full bloom of her youth, and her charms and conversation took away that readiness of hand and happiness of touch which belonged to the painter in his ordinary moments. The portrait was so little to his satisfaction, that he refused to send it to Chatsworth. Drawing his wet pencil across a mouth which all who saw it thought exquisitely lovely, he said: "Her Grace is too hard for me!" and this is the mouth which the butcher kissed! The picture was, we believe, destroyed. Garrick perplexed the pencil of Gainsborough in a different way. That versatile actor assumed fifty different characters in five minutes. But Garrick created a difficulty by contortion and skill, while the Duchess brought nature, in the shape of a mouth which no epithet can compliment sufficiently, to defy Art in her own stronghold.

Quitting Italy in August, 1793, the Duchess of Devonshire passed into Switzerland over Mount St. Gothard. The scenery she saw gave rise to a poem, written in heroics, with alternate rhymes, descriptive of the surrounding grandeur of Mount St. Gothard, and the feelings awakened by so sublime a region.

"No haunt of man the weary traveller greets,
No vegetation smiles upon the moor,
Save where the flow'ret breathes uncultured sweets,
Save where the patient monk receives the poor.

"His humble board the holy man prepares,
And simple food and wholesome lore bestows,
Extols the treasure that his mountain bears,
And paints the perils of impending snows."

This seems common enough; but the verse that follows is not only the best in the poem, but one perfectly pretty in its way;

"But though no more amidst those scenes I roam,
My fancy long each image shall retain—
The flock returning to its welcome home,
And the wild carol of the cowherd's train."

"The Passage of Mount St. Gothard" was published in her Grace's lifetime, with a translation into French, printed page for page with the original. This translation is believed to be by the Duchess as well.

This fascinating lady was born on the 9th of June, 1757; was married on the 6th of June, 1774; and died at Devonshire House on the 30th of April, 1806, of an abscess on the liver, first perceived about three months before she died. Her only son, the present Duke of Devonshire, who inherits a love of poetry from his mother, was born at Paris, in 1790. When the Prince of Wales was informed of her death, he said, with perfect justice, "Then we have lost the most amiable and best-bred woman in England."

DEATH FROM THE POWER OF IMAGINATION.—A story is told in a late number of the *Nouvelle Zeitung,* of a physician who tried an experiment on a criminal capitally condemned, illustrating the power of imagination. The man was permitted to see a dog bleed to death, and to observe all the symptoms of failing life as detailed by the physician, till the moment of the animal's death. Immediately after, the criminal's eyes were bandaged, and his arm pierced with a lancet, though no vein was opened. The physician went on, describing the same symptoms witnessed in the dog's case, and finally pronounced the words, "Now he is dying." The man did really expire under these operations, although he had not lost a table-spoonful of blood.

HOW NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE ROSE TO FAME. It is not easy to conceive of a stronger contrast than is presented by comparing Nathaniel Hawthorne with N. P. Willis. The former was for a time one of the principal writers for the Token, and his admirable sketches were published side by side with those of the latter. Yet it is curious to remark that everything Willis wrote attracted immediate attention, and excited ready praise, while the productions of Hawthorne were almost entirely unnoticed. The personal appearance and demeanor of these two gifted young men, at the early period of which I speak, was also in striking contrast. Willis was slender, his hair sunny and silken, his cheek ruddy, his aspect cheerful and confident. He met society with a ready and welcome hand, and was received readily and with welcome. Hawthorne, on the contrary, was of a rather sturdy form, his hair dark and bushy, his eye steel gray, his brow thick, his mouth sarcastic, his complexion stony, his whole aspect cold, moody, distrustful. He stood aloof, and surveyed the world from shy and sheltered positions. There was a corresponding difference in the writings of these two persons.

Willis was all sunshine and summer—the other chill, dark, and wintry; the one was full of hope and love—the other of doubt and distrust; the one sought the open daylight, sunshine, flowers, music, and found them everywhere—the other plunged into the dim caverns of the mind, and studied the grisly spectres of jealousy, remorse, despair. It is, perhaps, neither a subject of surprise nor regret that the larger portion of the world is so happily constituted as to have been more ready to flirt with the gay muse of the one, than to descend into the spiritual charnel-house and assist at the psychological dissections of the other. I had seen some anonymous publication, which seemed to me to indicate extraordinary powers. I inquired of the publishers as to the writer, and through them a correspondence ensued between me and "N. Hawthorne." This name I considered a disguise, and it was not till after many letters had passed that I met the author, and found it to be a true title, representing a very substantial personage. At this period, he was unsettled as to his views; he had tried his hand in literature, and considered himself to have met with a fatal rebuff from the reading world. His mind vacillated between various projects, verging, I think, towards a mercantile profession. I combated his despondence, and assured him of triumph, if he would persevere in a literary career.

He wrote numerous articles, which appeared in the Token; occasionally, an astute critic seemed to see through them, and to discover the soul that was in them; but in general they passed without notice. Such articles as "Sights from a Steeple," "Sketches beneath an Umbrella," "The Wives of the Dead," "The Prophetic Pictures," now universally acknowledged to be productions of extraordinary depth, meaning, and power, extorted hardly a word of either praise or blame, while columns were given to pieces since totally forgotten. I felt annoyed, almost angry, indeed, at this. I wrote several articles in the papers, directing attention to these productions; and finding no echo of my views, I recollect to have asked John Pickering to read some of them, and give me his opinion of them. He did as I requested; his answer was, that they displayed a wonderful beauty of style, with a kind of double vision, a sort of second sight, which revealed, beyond the outward forms of life and being, a sort of spirit world, somewhat as a lake reflects the earth around it and the sky above it; yet he deemed them to be too mystical to be popular.

He was right, no doubt, at that period, but, ere long, a portion of mankind, a large portion of the reading world, obtained a new sense—how or where or whence, is not easily determined—which led them to study the mystical, to dive beneath and beyond the senses, and to discern, gather, and cherish gems and pearls of price in the hidden depths of the soul. Hawthorne was, in fact, a kind of Wordsworth in prose—less philosophical. His fate was similar; at first he was neglected, at last he had worshippers. In 1837, I recommended Mr. Hawthorne to publish a volume, comprising his various pieces, which had appeared in the Token and elsewhere. He consented, but, as I had ceased to be a publisher, it was difficult to find any one who would undertake to bring out the work. I applied to the agent of the Stationers' Company, but he refused, until at last I relinquished my copyrights, on such of the tales as I had published, to Mr. Hawthorne, and joined a friend of his in a bond to indemnify them against loss; and thus the work was published by the Stationers' Company, under the title of "Twice-Told Tales," and for the author's benefit. It was deemed a failure for more than a year, when a breeze seemed to rise and fill its sails, and with it the author was carried on to fame and fortune.—*Recollections of a Lifetime; or, Men and Things I have seen. By S. G. Goodrich.*

THINK—SPEAK—ACT.—Would that every one could realize the vast importance of these words—think, speak, act. In this world, where character is continually in a state of formation, and scarce ever reaches a climax, it is no little thing, but it behooves us that we reflect how to speak, think, and act. In our lives is not visible the effects of our actions, but their influences will show themselves when our bodies are laid beneath the sod. The influence of many words and actions never dies, but, like circles in water when a stone is cast into its bosom, keeps widening, till we can scarce define it, or our eyes reach its boundaries. Many times our words and actions may touch a chord in the harp of humanity, the influence of which will vibrate through eternity; and it is the same if the influence be for good or evil. Not a thought is in our mind, not a word escapes our lips, not an action is performed, but that God is witness of. How important is it, then, that our every endeavor be for the good, that we weigh well every thought, word, and action. If we do thus, our influence will assuredly be good, and such that we shall never have cause to regret.

HOPE.—There is no temper so generally indulged as hope; other passions operate by starts on particular occasions, or in certain parts of life; but hope begins with the first power of comparing our actual with our possible state, and attends us through every stage and period, always urging us forward to new acquisitions, and holding out some distant blessings to our view, promising us either relief from pain, or increase of happiness.

Hope is necessary in every condition. The miseries of poverty, of sickness, of captivity, would without this comfort be insupportable; nor does it appear that the happiest lot of terrestrial existence can set us above the want of general blessing; or that life, when the gifts of nature and of fortune are accumulated upon it, would not still be wretched, were it not elevated and delighted by the expectation of some new possession, of some enjoyment yet behind, by which the wish shall be at last satisfied, and the heart filled up to the utmost extent.

Hope, is, indeed, very fallacious, and promises what it seldom gives; but its promises are more valuable than the gifts of fortune, and it seldom frustrates us without assuring us of recompensing the delay by a greater bounty.

ABSENCE OF THE SUN IN ARCTIC REGIONS.—On the 11th of November the sun took his departure. The day was beautifully clear and serene—one of the few fine days we had lately had, as the weather had been for the most part very tempestuous. There was scarcely a breath of wind, and the temperature had fallen to 26 degrees below zero. When the last glimpse of the sun was revealed to us as he reached his meridian, he displayed in gorgeous splendor on the margin of the southern horizon a segment of his upper limb; and, as if to add greater effect to this his last appearance in these dreary solitudes, his rays were most truthfully reflected on the western sky, from whence, shedding their prismatic tints on the land beneath, he imparted an appearance of rare beauty to the scene, where stillness and solitude alone prevailed. Thus commenced the long Polar night of dreariness and gloom. * * * Towards noon on the 3d of February, the appearance of a rich golden-tinted sky, forcing its way through a dense bank of haze which hung over the summit of the western hills, at once assured us of the proximity of the sun; and at noon our hearts were gladdened by his presence, as he lighted up the dreary region that had been eighty-three days in darkness. It was delightfully exhilarating to observe the reflection of his rays, as they found their way through the chance openings of our housing, and equally so to observe our own shadows on the snow-covered waste around us. We hailed his return as an important epoch, hoping never again to lose him for so long a period, and congratulated ourselves that the darkness of an Arctic winter had nearly passed. The ice was found to have increased thirteen and a half inches during the month.—*Dr. Armstrong's Northwest Passage.*

BRIGHT HOURS AND GLOOMY.—Ah, this beautiful world! indeed I know not what to think of it. Sometimes it is all gladness and sunshine, and heaven itself lies not far off; and then it suddenly changes, and is dark and sorrowful, and the clouds shut out the day. In the lives of the saddest of us there are bright days like this, when we feel as if we could take the great world in our arms. Then come gloomy hours, when the fire will not burn on our hearths, and all is dismal, cold and, dark. Believe me, every heart has its secret sorrows, which the world knows not, and oftentimes we call a man cold, when he is only sad.—*Longfellow.*

A VERY PRUDENT MAN.—Some few years ago, (says the London *Examiner,*) a member of Parliament and a great philosopher was seized with an alarm about the supply of fuel, like that of Mr. Disraeli about the ways and means, and, after a careful inquiry into the extent of the coal fields, and gauging their capabilities, he came to the frightful conclusion that they would be exhausted in the year 5000. He forthwith left off fires. The sad consequence of this long-sighted prudence was, that he starved himself into such wretched condition as to disable him for any exertion, and he disappeared from public life. The year 5000, with its necessities, was fatal to him.

MAKING AN EFFORT FOR LIFE.—Lord Cockburn says of old Adam Ferguson, the historian of Rome, who dressed like a philosopher from Lapland, "that he lived fifty years longer than nature meant, by rigid care. Wine and animal food besought his appetite in vain, but huge messes of milk and vegetables disappeared before him, always in the never-failing cloth and fur. I never heard of his dining out, except at his relation, Dr. Joseph Black's, where his son Sir Adam (the friend of Scott) used to say it was delightful to see the two philosophers *rioting* over a boiled turnip."

PLAYING CARDS IN SHAKSPEARE'S TIMES.—Cards was a favorite diversion with the higher ranks. The principal games then played are now extinct—such as "pimero," "gleek," "maw," "ruff," and "knave-out-of-doors." There were games of tables, of which that called "tables" was identical with our modern backgammon. Dice were much in use, and false dice were constantly employed by sharpers. Shakspeare's expression, "false as dicers' oaths," bears strictly on his own time. False dice were called Fulhams in the time of the Restoration, because they were made at Fulham.—*Lecture by Robert Bell.*

THE ELOQUENCE OF ACTION.—When Æschylus, the great poet, was condemned to death, his brother, an orator and hero, was summoned to plead his cause. While the audience were gazing with intensity of interest to hear what he said, he silently lifted up the stump of his dismembered arm, which he had lost in the service of his country, and said not a word. The multitude burst into shouts of applause, and the poet was saved. The dumb eloquence of that limb spoke more powerfully than "words that burn."

BURKE.—It was a fine compliment which Johnson, when debilitated by sickness, paid to Burke, the only man who was a match for that conversational tyrant: "That fellow calls forth all my power. Were I to see Burke now, it would kill me." "Can he *wind into a subject, like a serpent,* as Burke does?" was the shrewd question put to Boswell by Goldsmith.

DR. ROSS AN ABOLITIONIST.

The New York *Tribune* publishes a letter written by Dr. Ross in 1835, at the time he liberated his slaves, from which we give the following extract, showing that the Doctor has "progressed backwards" lamentably since that time:

"To the south of us, there seems to be no desire and no hope for a different state of things. You have read Gov. McDuffie's inaugural address before the Legislature of South Carolina. Slavery, in his opinion, is essential to the perpetuity of republican institutions. He exhorts South Carolina, then, to prepare to become, like Sparta, a nation of warriors and Helots. And if Southern planters could be made Lacedæmonian soldiers, if those masters could be made to cast aside their silken luxuries, and live in a camp, why, forsooth, they might maintain for an indefinite period a republican form of Government among themselves, provided certain influences within and without should not exist, and be too powerful to allow such a Government to endure. Christianity did not speak in what Gov. McDuffie would consider the palmy State of Sparta; and surrounding nations did not hold up every day, in view of Spartan masters, political and moral motives, at war with the spirit which made the Helot and the 'ambuscade.'

"In a recent journey through Georgia and South Carolina, I was struck with two facts which at first seemed strongly at variance. The one was the great inferiority of slaves in that region to the same class in East Tennessee, in elevation of spirit and intelligence; the other was, that the Carolina and Georgia slave seemed, nevertheless, more readily affected by the gospel than his brother in bondage here. But, on reflection, I thought I saw an agreement of these facts. In that land, where the mind of the African has purposely been kept in the greatest ignorance, the slave is truly a slave. His master is to him a superior being. Every indulgence is like a boon from Heaven. Even the privilege to hear the gospel is received as a stretch of benevolence. Here, however, where the Bible, aided by many circumstances, has leavened the whole lump, and raised the mind of the servant to a just knowledge of his situation, the tone of feeling toward the Gospel is very different. When invited to attend the means of religious instruction, the sentiment of the slave, expressed in conduct, and sometimes in word, runs thus: Give me freedom first, and then tell me of faith in Jesus Christ, and obedience to his will. The inference is plain. The Bible teaches the slave his rights. You must give them to him, or he will be prone to treat the word of life, *in the hands of his masters,* with neglect and contempt.

"Let our prayers, dear brother, be unceasing, that the truth on this subject may be clearly seen and fully obeyed.

"Respectfully and affectionately, your brother in the Lord, FREDERICK A. ROSS.

"*Rev. John C. Young, Danville, Ky.*"

Gen. I. G. Harris and Col. R. Hatton are canvassing Tennessee as rival candidates for Governor, the former on behalf of the Democratic, the latter as the nominee of the American party. They speak alternately from the same stump, which is a good arrangement; but recently at Fayetteville, they got into a personal altercation, struck, clenched, and pulled hair, which was not good. Their friends parted them, and have since brought them again on speaking terms.—*Trib*

The New York *Daily Evening Register* is dead. It has been printed ten months, and Mr. Scoville, its publisher, says he has lost $5,900 by it.

☞ The office of the *National Era* is removed to the newly-erected "Republican Building," corner of Indiana avenue and Second street.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THURSDAY, JULY 2, 1857.

MR. BANKS AND THE REPUBLICANS OF MASSACHUSETTS.

An article in last week's *Era* concerning Mr. Banks, and his Letter accepting the nomination of the Know Nothing Convention, was written for the purpose of keeping our own position in relation to Know Nothingism well defined, and free from all ambiguity, and not with a view to influencing the action of the Republicans of Massachusetts, who were assembled in Convention when our paper was going to press, and would decide upon their course before the *Era* could reach them. That Convention, as we supposed it would do, renominated Mr. Banks, and we presume he will be elected.

As we are not a party man, we are not responsible for the action of any party; and all that we need say, therefore, is that, in our opinion, Republicans would act more consistently and efficiently, if they would keep themselves free from coalitions, and especially free from all association with the policy of the Know Nothing movement.

The text of our comments last week was a telegraphic report of Mr. Banks's letter. Since then, we have seen the whole letter, and we laid it aside for publication, but unfortunately it disappeared. We regret this the more, as the portion of the extract we quoted concerning "foreign influence," had been torn from its connection, and standing alone here a construction not warranted by the context which the telegraphic reporter omitted. We hope yet that we may obtain a copy of the letter.

MR. DOUGLAS ON THE QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

We need not say that Mr. Douglas is a bold and shrewd politician. He does not permit himself to be overlooked or to be kept in the background. He knows *when* to challenge the attention of his Party, and on what topics he can speak with most effect. He does not wait for others to take the lead, but prefers himself to strike the key-note for his Party; and he is always on the alert to benefit by the blunders of his opponents or the weakness of his rivals. While supporting the Administration of Mr. Buchanan, he contrives to assume the attitude of a guide, rather than that of a follower. With the utmost confidence that the Administration will do right, he takes good care to state what that shall be!

He has been making an elaborate speech at Springfield on the Questions of the Day—Kansas, the Dred Scott Decision, and Utah. The synopsis given in the Chicago *Times* of the 16th ult. is copied into the Southern papers, with unqualified expressions of approbation on the part of the Disunion papers. The Richmond *South* lauds it as a specimen of bold and commanding statesmanship, and evidently regards Douglas as *the man* of the Democratic Party for 1860. We do not wonder at this, for, although the full report of the speech has not yet reached us, the positions taken by that gentleman, as stated in the synopsis of his remarks, are all that the extreme Pro-Slavery party can demand.

He concedes nothing to Northern Sentiment—he is implacable against Black Republicanism—he drops not a word from which might be inferred even a suspicion on his part that affairs in Kansas had not been conducted with exemplary fairness.

In relation to the Kansas Question, his seems to be the bold Southern Policy. The Convention law is a fair one—all the People entitled to vote were secured by it in the right of voting—if they stubbornly refuse to exercise this right, on their own heads will rest the consequences—the Democratic Party in Congress and in the Territory will have done its duty. The inference is, that should the Convention—the Free State Party having refused to vote—frame a Pro-Slavery Constitution, and send it to Congress, Senator Douglas will not hesitate to advocate its ratification, holding the Free State men responsible for the result. Not a word about the propriety of submitting the Constitution, when formed, to a popular vote in the Territory—the policy to which Gov. Walker has pledged himself and the Administration. On this point, deemed vital by the Southern ultras, Mr. Douglas chooses to withhold his concurrence with the Administration, not displeased, probably, to win confidence for himself at its expense with the extreme Southern Party.

The Dred Scott Opinion he sustains with vehemence, remarking that the two points settled by it are, first, that negroes are not citizens, secondly, that any restriction upon Slavery by Congress is unconstitutional.

Black Republicanism, he says, repudiates this decision; put itself in opposition to the Constitution and laws. It goes for negro equality and anarchy—and on these issues, he is prepared to meet it. This is cunning, but not truthful. Black Republicanism will not permit you to frame issues for it—it will make its own issues, and compel you to confront them. The first issue it makes is, a doctrine of the Declaration of Independence—"All men are born equal;" "endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights," among these, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Black Republicanism affirms, Black Democracy denies. Black Republicanism is sustained by Thomas Jefferson, Black Democracy by Roger Taney. Another point it makes is, that the People, the fountain of Law, are more potential than the Supreme Court, the interpreter of Law; and when they come to understand that the interpreter misrepresents them, they will correct the evil. Black Republicanism is not the opponent of the Constitution or Laws, but the determined enemy of those who pervert them and those who uphold their perverters. Black Republicanism, in ways sanctioned by the Constitution and Laws, will change the Federal Administration, and, finally, the Federal Courts, so that the People shall govern. Black Republicanism believes in the right of the American People to rule themselves: Black Democracy recognises the usurpation of the Class Interest of Slavery, and whatever Judicial decisions may sustain its usurpation.

As to Utah, Mr. Douglas has no doubt that the President will do his duty boldly; but he admonishes him incidentally as to the course he ought to pursue. Remove Brigham Young and all the Mormon functionaries; fill their places with Gentiles, good and true men; sustain these with an adequate military force; inquire into the robberies, the arsons, the murders, that have been committed, and punish them, if possible; but, should everything fail, then repeal the organic law, blot out the territorial organization of Utah, and bring the offenders thereto to trial, under the law of 1790, before the tribunals in the nearest organized States or Territories. This would be his method of dealing with "the bestial and treasonous practices" of Mormonism. If Buchanan should pursue this course, he would seem to be following the guidance of Mr. Douglas—should he decline to do so, and fail, his failure would be attributed to his not following so good advice.

Mr. Douglas has spoken, and we suppose he must now be considered a candidate for the succession in 1860—with special claims upon the confidence and sympathies of the Slavery Propaganda of the South. It is a curious spectacle, that while Governor Walker, a citizen of the slaveholding State of Mississippi, is risking his all of political influence and position to induce the Pro Slavery Convention to submit the question of Slavery to a vote of all the People of the Territory of Kansas, pledging himself to oppose its action, should it refuse to do so, Senator Douglas, a citizen of the non-slaveholding State of Illinois, declining to aid or countenance this liberal policy, intimates his purpose to sustain the action of that Convention, whatever it may be!

The People will ponder this curious exhibition.

THE TRUTH OF HISTORY—A RECORD OF FACTS FOR RECENT REPUBLICANS.

In the *Era* of June 4th, we quoted from the "*Manual of United States History*," by Samuel Eliot, Professor of History and Literature in Trinity College, the following statement concerning Abolitionism in its early period:

"This was Abolitionism—so called, from its demand that Slavery should be abolished, and this immediately, *without reference to the Constitution, or the institutions of the South*, to the claims of the master or the fortunes of the slave. Whatever its motives, its course was *professedly unscrupulous, sparing neither the interests against which it was directed, nor those which it was intended to sustain*."

We pronounced this a "groundless and unjust representation," and said:

"The Abolitionism of 1832, 1834, and 1836, was not the Abolitionism which Mr. Eliot may now see around him. It did not repudiate the Federal Constitution, or claim that under it the Federal Government had a right to abolish Slavery in the States. It did not seek to dissolve the Union, but professed the highest regard for it. It recognised State Rights and the sovereignty of each State over its own institutions. It was not political, but religious and philanthropic. It dealt with Slavery primarily as a question of right and wrong; denounced the holding of slaves as a sin; insisted on the duty of immediate emancipation—not, however, as Mr. Eliot asserts, without reference to the Constitution, the institutions of the South, the claims of the master, or the fortunes of the slave. For, while insisting on the application of fundamental principles, it had careful reference to the mode of application. The duty of the People of the free States, it said, was to repeal the laws by which people of color were degraded among them, and to bear testimony against the evil of Slavery in every lawful way: the duty of the Federal Government, to put an end to Slavery in territory over which it had exclusive jurisdiction; the duty of the People of each slaveholding State to agitate the question till such a Public Opinion should be created as would embody itself in a legitimate legislative act of emancipation. We could quote from all its newspapers and authentic documents, to show the truth of our representation, were it necessary."

We have been called upon to make good our assertions, by proof. It is but proper that we should state our claims to be a competent witness.

We commenced our career as an Anti-Slavery editor in Cincinnati, in the summer of 1836; passed through several mobs, until Freedom of Discussion was established in that city; continued editing there till 1846–'47; became the corresponding secretary of the Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in 1836, and from year to year prepared its reports, and superintended its business; organized in 1839–'40 the first Liberty party in the West; commenced, January, 1847, the *National Era* in Washington, and through it ever since have been advocating the original principles of the Anti-Slavery movement, successively proclaimed at Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia, until now, when they are professedly supported by Republicanism. And I assert, that the principles proclaimed by the Philadelphia Convention that nominated Colonel Fremont, in relation to Slavery and the Constitution, are no more, no less, no other, than the principles in relation to Slavery and the Constitution declared by the Abolitionists of 1832, 1834, and 1836. The principal difference between those Abolitionists and the real Republicans of to-day, is, that they confined themselves to moral means, as distinguished from political, while these are organized as a distinct political party. Those were Philanthropists, these are Politicians.

We do not intend that these facts shall be lost sight of. The early Abolitionists, so far as our influence can go, shall not be discredited through ignorance and prejudice. There are Republicans, so called, who would separate their movement entirely from that which those much-abused men originated. They cannot do it: the movements are one: the early Abolitionists were only the pioneers. They were stigmatized as incendiaries, fanatics, amalgamationists, traitors; so are Republicans now. What is the difference? *They* counted only by thousands; Republicans count by hundreds of thousands: *their* voices were overwhelmed by the universal uproar against them; Republicans, commanding a majority of the leading journals of the Union, in possession of nearly all the free States, and with more than a million of voters, can hurl back the charges, and make themselves not only heard, but felt. And yet some of them are pusillanimous enough to disclaim any connection or sympathy with those brave pioneers whose self-sacrificing labors have enabled them to proclaim, without fear of proscription, doctrines, whose promulgation in 1836 imposed political and social degradation, and the pains and penalties of Lynch Law.

But we are to prove our representation of the Abolitionism of 1832, 1834, and 1836, to be true.

January 30, 1832, the New England Anti-Slavery Society was organized. In its first report, page 21, it says:

"The national compact was so framed as to guaranty the legal possession of slaves, and *physical* interference would be a violation of Christian principle."

Early Abolitionism, in this case, is rather behind Republicanism, which finds no such guaranty in the national compact.

The New York City Anti-Slavery Society, organized October, 1833, in their address, said:

"We do not aim at any interference with the constitutional rights of the slaveholding States; for Congress, as is well understood, has no power to abolish Slavery in the several States."

These were the men who, according to Mr. Eliot, demanded the abolition of Slavery, "*without reference to the Constitutions or the institutions of the South*."

December of the same year, the managers of this Society printed and circulated a petition to Congress for the abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia, commencing as follows:

"Your petitioners, inhabitants of the city of New York, beg leave to represent to your honorable body, that whatever views they may entertain of the evils of Slavery as it exists in certain States of the Federal Union, they are fully aware that these evils are beyond the constitutional control of the Federal Government; and so far from soliciting your interposition for their removal, they would deprecate the interference of Congress on this subject as a violation of the national compact."

This, Mr. Eliot, was Abolitionism in 1833—how reckless of the Constitution, how "unscrupulous," how incendiary! Is this gentleman aware that, of the innumerable petitions sent to Congress by Abolition Societies, not one asked for the abolition of Slavery in the States? Among all the reasons urged for the passage of gag rules in Congress, he will never find the assumption made that Abolitionists had called upon Congress to interfere with State Slavery.

The *Liberator* was established January, 1831—January, 1832, the New England Society was formed. The agitation rapidly spread, and aroused the South, the press of which imputed the worst designs. To correct misrepresentation, Daniel Webster, in reply to John Bolton, of Savannah, Georgia, wrote for publication a letter dated May 17, 1833. He was living in Boston, the headquarters of the Anti-Slavery movement.

"In my opinion," he says, "the domestic Slavery of the Southern States is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves; and this, I am sure, is the opinion of the whole North. Congress has no authority to interfere in the emancipation of slaves, or in the treatment of them in any of the States. This was resolved in the House of Representatives in 1790, on the report of a committee consisting of Northern members; and I do not know an instance of the expression of a different opinion in either House of Congress, since. I cannot say that particular individuals might not possibly be found, who suppose that Congress may possess some power over the subject; but I do not know any such persons, and, if there be any, I am sure they are very few. The servitude of so great a portion of the population of the South is undoubtedly regarded at the North as a great evil, moral and political, and the discussions upon it which have recently taken place in the Legislatures of several of the slaveholding States have been read with a very deep interest. But it is regarded, nevertheless, as an evil, the remedy for which lies with those Legislatures themselves, to be provided and applied according to their own sense of policy and duty. The imputations which you say, and say truly, are constantly made against the North, are, in my opinion, entirely destitute of any just foundation."

This was Mr. Webster's opinion. The Abolitionists of Boston had attracted too much attention to be unknown to him, and, had they proposed the abolition of Slavery in the States, without reference to the Constitution, as the basis of their enterprise, he must have known it, and would have been dishonest to communicate false information to the South.

Mr. Garrison himself declared his readiness to sign his name to every sentiment in Mr. Webster's letter, and used in the *Liberator* the following language: *

"Abolitionists as clearly understand and as sacredly regard the constitutional powers of Congress, as do their traducers; and they know, and have again and again asserted, that Congress has no more rightful authority to sit in judgment on Southern Slavery, than it has to legislate for the abolition of Slavery in the French colonies."

And the New York *Emancipator*, July 6th, 1833, transferring the letter to its columns, says:

"Mr. Webster's opinion on the subject of Slavery in the States of this Union, so far as expressed, is just the same as has been more than once avowed in every Anti-Slavery paper in the country—that it is a subject within the exclusive control of the States themselves."

Gerrit Smith, once a Colonizationist and Vice President of the Colonization Society, while he held that position, in a speech, delivered at its Anniversary in New York, Jan. 20, 1834, thus vindicated the Anti-Slavery Society:

"I believe that Society to be as honest as our own—as benevolent and patriotic as our own. Its members love their fellow men, and love their country, and love the Union of the States, as sincerely and as strongly as we; and much as is said to the contrary on this point, I have never seen a particle of evidence that the Anti-Slavery Society meditates any interference with the provisions of the laws of the slave States on the subject of Slavery. It alleges, and I have no doubt sincerely, that it is by moral influence alone, and mainly by the changes wrought by the application of truth to the conscience, that it seeks to compass its object."

This same gentleman,† announcing, November 12, 1835, his adhesion to the American Anti-Slavery Society, remarked:

"All I now contend for—and I trust that in this every intelligent member of the Anti-Slavery Society agrees with me—is, that be (the slave) be delivered immediately from Slavery, and be raised immediately from a chattel, a thing, to a man. Nor need I disclaim, for myself and for the Anti-Slavery Society, all purpose of interfering with the legislative power of the slave States, and of taking into our own hands the work of liberating the slaves in them. This work belongs to their masters, and to them only. All we ask—and this we cannot be denied, for it is a correlative duty of an inherent right—is, that we may kindly, temperately, prudently, address such arguments to our slaveholding brethren, as we think will persuade them to make this change. This is all we ask; and are they so uncandid and cowardly as to dread the power of these arguments, and to dread the change which we propose to have effected, and which can be effected only through a corresponding change of their own minds and by the instrumentality of their own hands?"

This was the Abolitionism which Mr. Eliot avers was "unscrupulous," and reckless of "the Constitution and the institutions of the South!" That to-day Mr. Garrison advocates a dissolution of the Union, and Gerrit Smith claims for the Federal Government the right to abolish Slavery in the States, does not prove that the Abolitionists of 1832, 1834, and 1836, did either.

Judge William Jay, son of the illustrious Jay of the Revolution, was one of the early Abolitionists, as he has always been one of their ablest writers. In 1835, in a volume devoted to an inquiry into the tendencies of the American Colonization and the American Anti-Slavery Societies, he devoted a chapter to this very charge, brought against Abolitionism, of an intention to interfere, by legislation or force, with Slavery in the States. We need not say that, in his own writings, he has always clearly recognised the generally-admitted limitation on the power of Congress in relation to State institutions.

"We have seen," he says, in the volume alluded to, "that the charges against the Abolitionists are vague, and without specifications. Friend Hubbard and Mr. Gurley, however, give their accusations something of a tangible shape—the one asserts the Abolitionists are laboring to abolish Slavery by causing the National legislation to bear directly on the slaveholders, and compel them to emancipate their slaves; the other insists that it is one of their fundamental principles that Slavery is to be abolished, in a great degree against and in defiance of the will of the South. The obvious and only meaning of these assertions is, that it is the wish and object of the Abolitionists to induce Congress to abolish Slavery in the States. One would think that this charge, if true, might be easily proved. Some petition, some recommendation, might be quoted; but so far from having ever seen any proof of this charge, we have never seen even an *attempt* to prove it."

The charge was no more common against them, than it is now against Republicanism; there was no more *attempt* made to prove it against them, than there is now, to prove it against Republicans; it is false, when made against these, but not more false than it was when made against those.

On the 4th of December, 1833, a National Anti-Slavery Convention, containing delegates from ten States, met in Philadelphia, and, after a session of three days, organized the American Anti-Slavery Society, issued a Declaration of Sentiments, and formed a Constitution. It is in this Constitution we are to look for an authentic exposition of the Principles of Abolitionism, and they are contained in two articles, as follows:

"ARTICLE 2. The object of this Society is the entire abolition of Slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State in which Slavery exists has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in that State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God; and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave trade, and to abolish Slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may hereafter be admitted to the Union.

"ARTICLE 3. This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice; that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but the Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force."

Equally emphatic in the language of their Declaration of Sentiments:

"We fully and unanimously recognise the sovereignty of each State to legislate exclusively on the subject of Slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States in relation to this momentous subject."

The last document we shall submit is full and conclusive. No man, after reading it, can plead ignorance of the principles of the Abolitionists of 1832, 1834, and 1836. The document was intended once for all to silence the false charges brought against the Abolitionists, and it appeared in the form of an Address by the officers and Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, dated September 3d, 1835, and published in the New York *Evening Post* about the same time. The *Post* spoke of it in the highest terms, and endorsed every sentiment in it, except that relating to the duty of Congress to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia. We bespeak for this Address the attention of every one who would understand the principles and aims of the early Anti-Slavery movement:

TO THE PUBLIC.

In behalf of the American Anti-Slavery Society, we solicit the candid attention of the public to the following declaration of our principles and objects. Were the charges which are brought against us, made only by individuals who are interested in the continuance of Slavery, and by such as are influenced solely by unworthy motives, this address would be unnecessary; but there are those who merit and possess our esteem, who would not voluntarily do us injustice, and who have been led by gross misrepresentations, to believe that we are pursuing measures at variance not only with the constitutional rights of the south, but with the precepts of humanity and religion. To such we offer the following explanations and assurances.

1st. We hold that Congress has no more right to abolish Slavery in the Southern States than in the French West India Islands. Of course we desire no national legislation on the subject.

2d. We hold that Slavery can only be lawfully abolished by the Legislatures of the several States in which it prevails, and that the exercise of any other than moral influence to induce such abolition, is unconstitutional.

3d. We believe that Congress has the same right to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, that the State Governments have within their respective jurisdictions, and that it is their duty to efface so foul a blot from the national escutcheon.

4th. We believe that American citizens have the right to express and publish their opinions of the Constitutions, Laws, and Institutions, of any and every State and Nation under heaven; and we mean never to surrender the liberty of speech, of the press, or of conscience—blessings we have inherited from our fathers, and which we intend, as far as we are able, to transmit unimpaired to our children.

5th. We have uniformly deprecated all forcible attempts on the part of the slaves to recover their liberty. And were it in our power to address them, we would exhort them to observe a quiet and peaceful demeanor, and would assure them that no insurrectionary movement on their part would receive from us the slightest aid or countenance.

6th. We would deplore any servile insurrection, both on account of the calamities which would attend it, and on account of the occasion which it might furnish of increased severity of oppression.

7th. We are charged with sending incendiary publications to the South. If by the term *incendiary* is meant publications containing arguments and facts to prove Slavery to be a moral and political evil, and that duty and policy require its immediate abolition, the charge is true. But if this term is used to imply publications encouraging insurrection, and designed to excite the slaves to break their fetters, the charge is utterly and unequivocally false. We We beg our fellow-citizens to notice, that this charge is made without proof, and by many who confess that they have never read our publications; and that those who make it, offer to the public no evidence from our writings in support of it.

8th. We are accused of sending our publications to the slaves, and it is asserted that their tendency is to excite insurrection. Both the charges are false. These publications are not intended for the slaves; and were they able to read them, they would find in them no encouragement to insurrection.

9th. We are accused of employing agents in the slave States to distribute our publications. We have never had one such agent. We have sent no *packages* of our papers to any person in those States for distribution, except to five respectable resident citizens, at their own request. But we have sent by mail, single papers addressed to public officers, editors of newspapers, clergymen, and others. If, therefore, our object is to excite the slaves to insurrection, the MASTERS are our agents!

10th. We believe Slavery to be sinful, injurious to this and to every other country in which it prevails; we believe immediate emancipation to be the duty of every slaveholder, and that the immediate abolition of Slavery, by those who have the right to abolish it, would be safe and wise. These opinions we have freely expressed, and we certainly have no intention to refrain from expressing them in future, and urging them upon the conscience and hearts of our fellow-citizens, who hold slaves or apologize for Slavery.

11th. We believe that the education of the poor is required by duty, and by a regard for the permanency of our republican institutions. There are thousands and tens of thousands of our fellow-citizens, even in the free States, sunk in abject poverty, and who, on account of their complexion, are virtually *kept* in ignorance, and whose instruction, in certain cases, is actually prohibited by law! We are anxious to protect the rights and to promote the virtue and happiness of the colored portion of our population, and on this account we have been charged with a design to encourage intermarriage between the whites and blacks. This charge has been repeatedly, and is now again denied; while we repeat that the tendency of our sentiments is to put an end to the criminal amalgamation that prevails wherever Slavery exists.

12th. We are accused of acts that tend to a dissolution of the Union, and even of wishing to dissolve it. We have never "calculated the value of the Union," because we believe it to be inestimable; and that the abolition of Slavery will remove the chief danger of its dissolution; and one of the many reasons why we cherish and will endeavor to preserve the Constitution, is, that it restrains Congress from making any law "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press."

Such, fellow-citizens, are our principles. Are they unworthy of Republicans and of Christians? Or are they in truth so atrocious, that, in order to prevent their diffusion, you are yourselves willing to surrender, at the dictation of others, the invaluable privilege of free discussion, the very birthright of Americans? Will you, in order that the abominations of Slavery may be concealed from public view, and that the capital of your republic may continue to be, as it now is, under the sanction of Congress, the great slave mart of the American Continent, consent that the General Government, in acknowledged defiance of the Constitution and laws, shall appoint, throughout the length and breadth of your land, ten thousand censors of the press, each of whom shall have the right to inspect every document you may commit to the post office, and suppress every pamphlet and newspaper, whether religious or political, which in his sovereign pleasure be may adjudge to contain an incendiary article? Surely we need not remind you, that if you submit to such an encroachment on your liberties, the days of our Republic are numbered; and that, although abolitionists may be the first, they will not be the last victims offered at the shrine of arbitrary power.

ARTHUR TAPPAN, *President*,
JOHN RANKIN, *Treasurer*,
WILLIAM JAY, *Sec. For. Cor.*,
ELIZUR WRIGHT, *Jr., Sec. Do. Cor.*,
ABRAHAM L. COX, *M. D., Rec. Sec.*,
Members of Executive Committee.
LEWIS TAPPAN.
JOSHUA LEAVITT.
SAMUEL E. CORNISH.
SIMEON S. JOCELYN.
THEODORE S. WRIGHT.
New York, September 3, 1835.

The documents submitted prove that Mr. Eliot, in his Manual of History, has misrepresented (unintentionally, we doubt not) the character and aims of the original Abolition movement; that our statement of its principles and objects made in the *Era* of June 14th, is correct; that its doctrines concerning Slavery, in its relation to the Federal Constitution, the Federal Government, and the States, are identical with those now held by the Republican Party; and that the imputations against it, of unconstitutional and treasonable purposes, were just as false as are similar imputations now made against the Republican Party.

SENATOR DOUGLAS UPON THE MORMONS.

We gave a brief report of a recent speech of Senator Douglas in our last issue, but it was imperfect in several particulars. We do not propose to publish the speech—a verbatim report is before us—but to give the Senator's exact words upon the Utah question. The main part of the speech is taken up with the Slavery question, the Dred Scott decision, and affairs in Kansas. Of course, the Senator upholds Judge Taney's decision, and in Kansas he upholds the bogus laws, not declaring whether in his opinion the Convention should submit their Constitution to the people for ratification.

The following is Senator Douglas's summary method of dealing with the Salt Lake Polygamists, provided the charges against them are true:

"In my opinion, the first step should be the absolute and unconditional repeal of the organic act—blotting the Territorial Government out of existence—upon the ground that they are outlaws, denying their allegiance and defying the authorities of the United States.

"The Territorial Government once abolished, the country would revert to its primitive condition prior to the act of 1850, 'under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States,' and should be placed under the operation of the act of Congress of the 30th of April, 1790, and the various acts supplemental thereto and amendatory thereof, 'providing for the punishment of crimes against the United States, within any fort, arsenal, dock-yard, magazine, *or any other place or district of country under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States*.' All offences against the provisions of these acts are required by law to be tried and punished by the United States courts in the States or Territories where the offenders shall be '*first apprehended or brought for trial*.'

"Thus, it will be seen, that under the plan proposed, Brigham Young and his confederates could be 'apprehended and brought for trial' to Iowa or Missouri, California or Oregon, or to any other adjacent State or Territory, where a fair trial could be had, and justice administered impartially—where the witnesses could be protected and the judgment of the court could be carried into execution, without violence or intimidation.

"I do not propose to introduce any new principles into our jurisprudence, nor to change the modes of proceeding or rules of practice in our courts. I only propose to place the district of country embraced within the Territory of Utah under the operation of the same laws and rules of proceeding, that Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, and our other Territories, were placed, before they became organized Territories. The whole country embraced within these Territories was under the operation of that same system of laws, and all the offences committed within the same were punished in the manner now proposed, so long as the country remained 'under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States;' but the moment the country was organized into Territorial Governments, with Legislative, Executive, and Judicial departments, it ceased to be under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, within the meaning of the act of Congress, for the reason that it had passed under another and a different jurisdiction. Hence, if we abolish the Territorial Government of Utah, preserving all existing rights, and place the country under the sole and exclusive jurisdiction of the United States, offenders can be apprehended, and brought into the adjacent States or Territories for punishment, in the same manner and under the same rules and regulations which obtained, and have been uniformly practiced, under like circumstances, since 1790."

The Senator, after stating his remedy, proceeded to argue, with great ingenuity, that it would not conflict with his previous theories—or with the Constitution.

SPAIN AND MEXICO.

The foreign news respecting the relations of Spain with Mexico is unsatisfactory. Negotiations were still going on, and it was evident that either Spain or Mexico was raising impediments to prevent the prompt settlement of matters in dispute. There can be little doubt that it is the Spanish authorities who *seek* occasion to prolong the negotiations, if not to exaggerate the difficulties in the way of a settlement.

Stories are rife that Spain will demand the re-conversion of Mexico into a Spanish province, with Santa Anna as its Viceroy, but we have no faith in such gossip. Any attempt on the part of Spain to re-conquer Mexico can but result in her discomfiture; and it is not at all unlikely that, were she foolishly to make the attempt, that this Administration would take advantage of some phase of the war to wrest Cuba from her possession. It is so palpable that Spain can only lose by war, that we do not believe her present movement is more than a diplomatic feint, out of which she expects to gain something—we scarcely know what.

As for Mexico, though we regard the story that Santa Anna is to be Spanish Viceroy in Mexico as the idle invention of a letter-writer, yet we should not be in the least surprised to see that gentleman reappear upon the stage of Mexican affairs, and again assume power in Mexico.

Santa Anna is a shrewd statesman—always more shrewd in gaining power than in keeping it. The possession of high office intoxicates him to such a degree, that he seems incapable of avoiding his own ruin.

The alleged *cause* for war on the part of Mexico is set forth as follows by the Boston *Traveller*:

"One reason, it is said, why the Mexicans and the Spaniards are likely to get at loggerheads yet, though peace between them has been announced as often as the pacification of Kansas, or the appointment of a Governor for Utah, is this: Mexico repudiated certain bonds in which the Spanish Government is interested! Of all the practical jokes we ever heard of, this is the richest. It is much the same as if Mississippi were to quarrel with Pennsylvania, because the latter had failed to pay the interest on her bonds, some Mississippian being among the holders of that valuable scrip. Spain and Mexico are the two repudiating nations of the world, not even Austria being equal to either of them in the way of violating public faith. For two such nations to fall foul of each other, because one of them has neglected to pay a bill held by the other, is something so ludicrous, that we should hardly believe it if we found it mentioned in the books; and no romancer would dare to invent anything intrinsically so improbable. He would be accused of having no regard for 'keeping,' if he were to introduce such a circumstance into a mere story. It seems impossible that the two nations can get up a war for so strange a cause; and the motives for the quarrel between them must be sought in something very different from repudiation. Mexico is making a strong effort to throw off the superstitions under which she has so long suffered, and Spain, as the most subservient vassal of Rome, is to be employed to aid her conservatives to preserve the reign of ignorance."

MR. BANKS NOMINATED BY THE REPUBLICANS.

The Republicans of Massachusetts met in State Convention, at Worcester, on the 24th ult., and nominated the Hon. N. P. Banks for Governor, he receiving on an informal ballot 291 out of 464 votes cast.

A motion was made to nominate Mr. Banks by acclamation. This was opposed. Mr. Charles Allen, of Worcester said that he was one of those who did not vote for Mr. Banks, but he cordially acquiesced in the result.

"Mr. Hopkins, of Northampton, hoped, before the Convention adjourned, he should be able to acquiesce in the doings of the Convention, but he wanted light in a certain quarter. He wanted a party clearly defined and separate from any other, before the Commonwealth would return to her pristine purity and vigor. He wanted a distinctly-defined Republican party. He said Banks was committed to the American platform by accepting their nomination, and he wanted candidates who would hold no fealty to any other organizations. Mr. Banks is a member of that party, in such a sense as to make him a questionable candidate for a Republican Convention. If Banks would stand on the Philadelphia platform, alone and unequivocally, the matter would be cleared up.

"Hon. Anson Burlingame was called on to reply, and was greeted with great applause. He urged that what was wanted is common sense, in order to embody the opposition to Slavery in practical operation. He spoke of Banks's election as Speaker as an illustration of that good sense. The great desire of every true friend of Freedom is to keep the great army that voted for Fremont together, and thus secure the House of Representatives next fall."

Mr. Banks was then formally nominated, receiving 337 out of 431 votes cast.

Oliver Warner, of Northampton, was nominated for Lieutenant Governor, and T. D. Elliot, of New Bedford, for Attorney General.

The following resolutions were passed by the Convention:

"*Resolved*, That the Republican party of Massachusetts, with unwavering fidelity to the principles of the Philadelphia Platform, recognises those principles as the only test of political fellowship, and will support no candidates for public office who do not heartily, unequivocally, and in good faith, subscribe to those principles, and acknowledge them as the paramount object of political action.

"*Resolved*, That we regard the decision of the court in the Dred Scott case as a usurpation of judicial power for political purposes; an insult to the memory of the fathers of our country and the founders of our Government; a violation of the plainest natural and constitutional principles of law; a perversion of history; an encroachment upon the rights of the States, and a blow deliberately struck at freedom and the rights of man.

"*Resolved*, That in view of the alarming encroachments of the slave power hitherto, of its violation of plighted faith in the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, of its outrages in Kansas, of its flagrant perversion of law and justice in the Dred Scott decision, which are but the natural results of the inherent wickedness of chattel slavery, the Republican party of Massachusetts pledges anew its untiring and uncompromising opposition, by every constitutional means, to its existence and further extension."

DEFALCATION IN THE OHIO STATE TREASURY.

The late Treasurer of Ohio is out in the Ohio papers with a statement, in which he says:

"My predecessor failed to pay what he owed to the State by a very large sum. He paid what the accounts showed against him, but failed to put me in funds to meet receipts which he had given county Treasurers. These were legally binding on the State, and I was compelled to receive them as cash. When Mr. Breslin failed to put me in possession of the funds, I should have made it public.

"My kindness of heart, which with me amounts to positive weakness, led me to rely upon his assurances, and say he had paid all, except the $204,000 reported.

"This was my great and only error. It may have been wrong. I found it impossible to obtain the amount from him, and it was then manifestly proper that I should resign, and invoke a legal examination. Its result will soon be known, and by it I must abide.

"No one has ever suffered by me, nor shall they.

"I rely upon a full acquittal from pecuniary liability to the State, and for just censure. Conscious of no wrong myself, I am not excited, nor will I despond. I will devote my life to extricating myself from this misfortune."

In the mean time, a committee of gentlemen of all parties, appointed by Gov. Chase, is examining into the accounts of the Treasury Department, and it is to be hoped that they will discover the guilty parties, and the use made of the mis-appropriated State funds.

At a meeting of the citizens of Columbus, irrespective of party ties, the following resolutions were passed:

"*Resolved*, That we, as citizens of Ohio, have learned with deep regret the startling fact, that a defalcation of over half a million of dollars exists in the Treasury of our State. We unite with the people everywhere in denouncing all who have in any way participated in this act of robbery and public plunder. We have no desire, nor will we tolerate any attempt, to shield the guilty. We ask a prompt and careful examination of the case, and demand prosecution to the extent of the liability of the parties who have perpetrated this outrage, without regard to party or personal considerations.

"*Resolved*, That we highly approve of the prompt and energetic action of Gov. Chase in the premises. We approve of his selection of gentlemen of different politics, but of established character for integrity, to make the necessary investigation. We trust they will be able to show to the plundered tax-payers of the State when and where this grand robbery took place, and to designate beyond a reasonable doubt the guilty party or parties to the fraud.

"*Resolved*, That while we deplore the act as a base betrayal of the trust of a generous people, we are all proud to unite with our fellow-citizens, of all parties, in declaring that, notwithstanding this heavy loss, the plighted faith of the State shall not for a moment be tarnished, but all our obligations, at home and abroad, must and shall be met with the same promptness that has ever heretofore characterized the financial history of Ohio."

MINNESOTA.—The Minnesota *Republican* of June 16 foots up the election returns in the following manner:

Republicans elected	56
Democrats ditto	40
To be heard from	6

It adds:

"It is proper to remark, that in the St. Anthony district, the seats of four Republicans will be contested; though, if we are to be guided by Democratic precedent, they are fairly entitled to their seats. The Pembina district is entirely excluded, as being 'outside of the limits of the proposed State.' The fourth district, which was so long in doubt, comes in all right, five of the six candidates elected being Republicans. Those districts which are yet to hear from are as likely to send as many Republicans as Democrats—so that no reasonable doubt can remain in the minds of any of the success of the Republicans.

"This is a little better than we dared to hope for last week; and should it prove to be as we are *now* led to believe, we shall 'rejoice with exceeding great joy.'

"P. S.—Later and authentic advices from Houston county say that only *one* Democratic delegate was elected there, instead of two, as had been reported. This gives us one more Republican in the eighth district."

WASHINGTON ITEMS.

Governor Cummings has left for Utah; he has taken his family with him, and intends to make Salt Lake City his permanent residence. The Baltimore *Sun* says:

"He is doubtless very well fitted for the office at this crisis. The Mormons will probably undertake to resist the Federal authority, for they have no support or sympathy from any political party or any public sentiment in the country."

"The idea that they can be exterminated or expelled from the country, or that their fanaticism will be repressed by force, is wholly absurd. Treason against the Constitution and laws of the United States may be punished, and this is the extent of the power of the Federal Government over this matter.

"There is nothing in the Constitution that justifies a crusade against Polygamists any more than against Abolitionists, or Romanists, or Calvinists, or Seventh Day Prophets. The Anti-Slavery journals are the fiercest of all in opposition to the Mormons. If they can find constitutional power for one crusade, they can for another.

"But the Administration does not share in the extravagant views which are put forth on this subject, and the instructions to Governor Cummings will be to take care that the laws of the United States be obeyed in the Territory, and to exert every constitutional power to secure the due administration of justice."

These are probably Administration views.

Colonel Jack Hays, of Texas notoriety, will probably be Surveyor General of Utah.

Brigham Young has never recognised the United States surveys, and, indeed, not an inhabitant of Utah holds an acre of land by Government title. The Federal courts may have to deal with this matter, though there can be no doubt, if the Mormons will behave themselves, Congress will confirm their titles.

The Washington correspondent of the New York *Times* says of Utah affairs:

"The Government has probably completed the appointments for Utah, both Executive and Judicial, and the instructions for the Governor are no doubt ready. The spirit of these is simply what has been declared by Mr. Buchanan, to wit: that the laws of the United States must be obeyed in the Territory. The body of troops who, if need be, are to aid in the enforcement of the laws, are already detailed for this service, but will not reach the Territory before the first of September.

"The Mormons generally, as we are advised, deride the idea of the exertion of military force against them. They have among them shrewd lawyers and diplomatists, who will contrive to keep all Mormondom within the pale of constitutional law. Over the consciences of the Mormons the Federal authorities can exercise no control, and their morals cannot be improved by force of arms. It is probable that they will be careful to commit no overt act of treason, but their juries will be so constructed that a due and impartial administration of justice will be impracticable."

The Administration is engaged in deciding the route of the Overland California mail. It finds it a very difficult matter to please the North and the South in the matter—the South not being content with the Central route, terminating at St. Louis.

General Scott has been in Washington for some time, arranging matters for the Utah-bound troops.

Mr. Cutts, father-in-law to Senator Douglas, is about to be promoted to one of the bureaus of the Treasury Department.

We gather from an exchange the following items respecting the hail-storm of last week:

"The President's green-houses are nearly destroyed. The mansion itself sustained the breakage of windows, and the roof was also damaged. Glass three-eighths of an inch thick, in the sky-lights at the Capitol, were broken. The library was thus exposed to the pelting storm. Every green-house or conservatory in the city is very much damaged, except those of Mr. Corcoran, which are protected by strong French plate glass. The Presbyterian church, Rev. Mr. Carothers, corner of Fifth and I streets, has two hundred broken window panes. Three churches on the island have about one hundred and thirty each. Other churches and public edifices generally, in like proportion, including Willard's, Kirkwood's, and Brown's hotels."

There is considerable speculation in certain quarters, concerning the position of Mr. Buchanan and the Cabinet towards Kansas and Governor Walker. Several Southern journals claim that Governor Walker's conduct will be disowned by the Administration. The following paragraphs are from the well-known "Ion," of the Baltimore *Sun*, and unquestionably reflect the sentiments of the Administration:

"Governor R. J. Walker's speech at Topeka, on the 9th inst., furnishes a very clear exposition of the state of things between the several parties to the Slavery question in the Territory of Kansas. There are three parties, one of which is represented by the Governor, who acts under the instructions and with the approval of the President and Cabinet; another is led by 'Governor' Robinson, and goes for the maintenance of the Topeka Constitution; and the third is the Pro-Slavery party, which will have the control of the Convention in September, and will frame a State Constitution either tolerating Slavery or ignoring the subject.

"Governor Walker has endeavored to impress upon the Pro-Slavery party the necessity of submitting the Constitution which they may frame in September to those who will be actual inhabitants of the Territory at that time. The Administration approve of this course, and promise that the inhabitants shall be protected in the exercise of their rights of voting for or against the Constitution.

"To the Topeka party, the Governor addresses good advice—that is, to abandon their treasonable purpose of setting up a spurious minority Government in opposition to the legal Government, and to vote for or against the Constitution which will be framed in September.

"Whether either party will follow his advice, remains to be seen. Both of them are subject to extraneous political influence, which may interfere with the permanent pacification of the Territory and the advancement of the national interests."

The Washington *Star*, in an article upon Governor Walker, of Kansas, says:

"Though by no means approving of a portion of his course, as seen through his speeches, and newspaper comments on and sketches of them, we feel well assured that those who attribute to him improper motives do him rank injustice; while those who attribute to the Administration responsibility for the tenor of many of his arguments, do the Government no less injustice."

The Columbus *State Journal* says:

"We understand that the papers have been made out, and will be filed in the Clerk's office this afternoon, by the Attorney General, bringing a suit against John G. Breslin, and another against Wm. H. Gibson, for the recovery of the money lost by them to the State. Suits are also brought against the sureties of Mr. Breslin, and against the sureties of Mr. Gibson, to recover the amount of their bonds. The suits are to be tried before Judge Matthews, in the Superior Court of Franklin county. These suits take precedence by law over all others on the docket."

OCEAN STEAMERS DISCONTINUED.—The Hansa and Germania, of the Bremen line, have discontinued their trips, and will not come out again this season. It is stated that the steamships Washington and Hermann, after their return from Europe again, will be withdrawn from the Bremen line, and discontinue their trips. The cause alleged is the failure to procure the carrying of the mails, the contract for which has been transferred to the Ariel and North Star, owned by Vanderbilt.

The Review.

Little Dorrit. By Charles Dickens. Philadelph'a: T B. Peterson. For sale by L. D. Campbell & Co., 43 Pennsylvania avenue, Washington, D. C.

The last novel of Charles Dickens has brought down upon his head a shower of criticisms and censures. A fair sample of their character may be gathered from the "Remonstrance with Dickens," in a recent number of *Blackwood's Magazine*.

With due humility, we beg leave to diffe from these adverse critics, and we find it difficult to repress a suspicion that *one* cause for their dislike of the recent stories of Mr. Dickens, is the fact that he has been ridiculing their clique, their party, or their antique notions respecting the Circumlocution Office. In other words, "the Barnacles" *may* be their kin.

Little Dorrit, in our opinion, has the principal virtues and faults of all Mr. Dickens's novels. There is the usual amount of exaggeration, the lack of a proper development of plot, inadequate conceptions of female character, &c. But the same intense interest, the pathos, the geniality, which pervade the previous works of the novelist, characterize *this*. There are a score of noble persons in it—men with honest, manly, generous hearts—men who beautify the world they live in. There is also humor in the book, though we miss the usual quantity. There is no sustained character like Micawber, or Dick Swiveller; nevertheless, there are pages of exquisite fun in the volume.

There are critics who charge great exaggeration upon Mr. Dickens in the characters of Merdle and Mrs. Clennam. The former is a great speculator, moving in the highest society, who finally ends his own existence with a razor, after committing forgeries. Yet, while this story has been in progress, James Sadlier, a member of Parliament, moving in the first circles, suddenly committed suicide, after forging for a vast amount. Mrs. Clennam is a woman who devotes a lifetime to the gratification of a wicked revenge, yet all the time claims to be a rigorous Christian. A short time ago, Sir Paul Dean, a great English banker, who had for a dozen years figured at Exeter Hall religious meetings, was convicted of fraud, sentenced to transportation, and it came out on trial that he had been guilty of it for years. So much for Mr. Dickens's exaggeration.

We have no doubt that Mr. Dickens can improve upon *Little Dorrit*—there is plenty of room for it, but we do not care to see him go back to such books as *Pickwick*. Rather let him continue to use his wonderful powers for the exposure of wrong, injustice, antiquated abuses, and iniquity sheltered in high places. Better even the gratitude of the millions of suffering, than success in making "the Barnacles" laugh.

Emerson's United States Magazine. New York: J. M Emerson & Co.

The July number of this monthly is printed with neatness, and abounds with beautifully executed wood engravings. The reading matter excellent.

The American Journal of Education. Hartford, Conn. F. C. Brownell.

This quarterly, devoted to the cause of general education, is deserving of special notic and of a wide circulation. The June numbe is before us, containing about 300 pages an several fine steel portraits. The principal a ticles are, "A Memoir of Nicholas Brown;" "Memoir of Dr. Peet, President of the New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb;" "C. H. Zeller and Institution at Bengger (Duchy of Baden) for Training Teachers;" "Normal Schools;" Abbe de la Salle and In stitute of Christian Brothers;" "Art: Its Im portance as a Branch of Education;" an "The Sycorcope." The contents of the num ber are of a high order, and are well calculate to promote the cause of education. The edito of the Quarterly is Henry Barnard, L. L. D. Hartford, well known as one of the most dis tinguished friends of education. Under his su pervision, the work can scarcely fail of taking a high position among the periodical literatur of the country.

Nothing New. Tales. By the Author of John Halifax &c. New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale b Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

A series of short tales, by Miss Muloch whose popularity as the author of John Hal fax, would secure readers for poorer stories tha these. They are reprints of what must hav appeared before Miss Muloch had acquired th power and skill which mark her more recen publications.

The Fortunes of Glencore; a Novel. By Charles Leve New York: Harper & Brothers. For sale as above.

We never read a book with a more unsati factory ending. We never knew so much am munition wasted for nothing. Mr. Lever get along tolerably well with four acts of his story working up expectation to quite a high pitch the fifth act will surely make a sensation—bu lo! while the people are breathless with excite ment, the curtain falls, the audience is dismiss ed; the fifth act, like the coming of Glencore is never to be. No author has a right to pla the fool in this style. If a man propose to writ a novel, let him sit down first, count the cos and see whether he has enough to complete i Give us a beginning, a middle, and an end, o nothing. If there is to be no end, let us hav no beginning. Lever has attempted more, an achieved less in this, than in some of his forme novels.

London Quarterly. April, 1857. New York: Leonar Scott & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washin ton, D. C.

The article on Slavery in this number i rather commonplace, characterized by neithe originality of views nor force of expression. speaks in just terms of the philanthropy of Mr Stowe, and quotes largely from her last work Commenting on the rhetorical character of M Sumner's speech, it assumes that it was adapte by the orator expressly to the taste of his au ditors; and it speaks of *the Senate's refusin to expel Mr. Brooks!* An American reviewe who should betray so much ignorance in noti cing British affairs, would be laughed at by h own countrymen. Mr. Brooks being a mem ber of the *House of Representatives*, the *Sena* had no power over him; and as to the taste the American Senate, whatever may be i weaknesses, it has no fondness for literary em bellishment. It will sit patiently under dul ness, if it be practical, but grows restive unde tropes and figures.

The other articles in the *Review* are bette than the one noticed.

The May number of the *North British* ha not yet been published in Great Britain, owin it is said, to some new arrangement in conte plation. It would seem that an article in i pages, on Chalmers, by Taylor, the author the Natural History of Enthusiasm, gave gre offence to many of its subscribers.

The American Journal of the Medical Sciences. Edit by Isaac Hays, M.D Philadelphia: Blanchard & Le For sale as above.

We have often spoken of this Quarterly, as o of the most valuable of American periodical It is full of matter interesting to all reader whether professional or not.

The North American Medico-Chirurgical Review; bi-monthly journal. Edited by S. D. Gross and T. Richardson. Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott & Co.

This work, a combination of the *Medical E aminer* of Philadelphia, and *Louisville* (*K Medical Review*, commenced its career in Ja uary, at Philadelphia. It is published ever two months, each number containing 160 pages, at four dollars a year. Its editors are men of mark in their profession.

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* Miscellaneous Writings on Slavery. By Judge William Jay. Boston: Jewett & Co. Page 163.

† Letter to Abraham L. Cox, printed in the Cincinnati *Philanthropist*, January 1, 1836.

The British Poets. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. For sale by Taylor & Maury, Washington, D. C.

We are indebted to the American publishers for three more volumes of their beautiful reprint of the British Poets—the Poems of Andrew Marvell, (of whom there has been no edition since 1776,) with a sketch of the author, and a notice of his work, by Henry Rogers; and the Poems of Thomas Chatterton, in two volumes, with deeply interesting notices of his life, reprinted chiefly from the Cambidge (Eng.) edition of 1842.

Ticknor & Fields's Publications. Boston: For sale as above.

Two volumes more of the beautiful pocket reprints of Ticknor & Fields—the *Sorrows of an Ennuyée*, by Mrs. Jamieson, uniform with the *Loves of the Poets*, and *Characteristics of Women*, and the *Poetical Works of Gerald Massey*, the young poet, who, born in 1828, in a miserable little hovel in England, in which a man could not stand upright, and working, when eight years old, in a factory, from half past five in the morning till half past six in the evening, for ninepence a week, had written enough poetry by the time he was twenty-three years old, to elicit from Walter Savage Landor the remark, that "the volume contains a larger quantity of good poetry than threescore ostentatious volumes, by 'eminent hands.'"

Harper's Monthly Magazine for July, 1857. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

At last we have the closing chapters of the long-continued *Little Dorrit*, which, as we need not tell many of our readers, ends well for her and Arthur Clennam. There are three or four illustrated articles, in two of which new ground is broken, while there is a continuation in another, of *North Carolina Illustrated*. The cuts do not appear to us to be all of equal merit; some are quite poor, while others are very agreeable specimens of skill, and represent their subjects happily. In the first of the articles entitled *The Carib Settlements*, we are introduded to the remnants of that people whom Columbus first saw when he discovered this Continent, as the general name of Carib seems to have been given to the Indians or natives of the West Indian islands. It occupies but a few pages, but the article, with its accompanying illustrations, furnishes us with some information respecting the tropical region where these Indians live. It would be a decided advantage, however, were the publishers, in these illustrated articles, to give also a small map of the particular section of a country where their tourist or traveller hails from. In *North Carolina Illustrated*, we have a plan of the battle of Guilford, taken from Lossing's *Field Book of the Revolution*. This is well. But there is an omission here, that should not have been. On the plan are letters for reference, but nothing corresponding in the text. Of course the reader is left to make out as he can, by his own imagination, what A, B, C, *a*, *b*, 1, 2, 3, &c., mean. From the general description of the battle, we may perhaps locate most of the portions of the armies, but we should be aided by suitable explanations. The article on *The Shakers* presents us with sketches of their buildings, mode of worship, costume, agriculture, preparations of objects of traffic at New Lebanon, (where is their principal settlement,) which will be of interest to numerous readers.

In this number, too, we have again a short popular paper of natural history, on *Lichens*. The story called *The Two Kates* is said to be one of facts, which relate to two families residing in the county of Northumberland, on the mouth of the Potomac. It is well told, and the incidents are curious, yet may be easily conceived of, as having actually transpired. *Causes and Prevention of Epidemics* is a subject that to us in this country is of no slight importance, and the information given and sanitary cautions should not be lightly passed over. The other light articles—*Mr. Quigley's Experience*, *Our Cousin from Town*, *The Holbrook House*—are pleasant stories; and another still, *The Story of a Piano*, as sad and woful as any one could wish. There is likewise a paper bearing the title of *The Emperor Napoleon the Third*, which contains a sketchy account of his career, which strongly hints at his illegitimate birth, and that he bears a nearer relationship to the first Napoleon than a nephew. The various scenes and hair-breadth escapes and wild adventure are told, and some facts, with which we are now first made acquainted, introduced. The other usual portions of the magazine, Literary Notices, Editor's Table, &c., Comic Sketches, and Plates of Fashion, complete the number.

Marriage as It Is, and as It should Be. By John Bayley, of the Virginia Annual Conference, author of "Confessions of a Converted Infidel," &c. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1857. For sale by Franck Taylor, Washington, D. C.

Dr. Isaac Watts, the author of a great number of the versified psalms, as well as hymns found in the different collections for worship in some of the religious denominations of our country, wrote a very pleasant little poem, called "Few Happy Matches," in which he playfully adopted the idea, that the souls of men and women were created by pairs, and for each other, and sent forth into the world; but, somehow or other, they got strangely sundered, and thus did not, as intended, find each and every one his or her congenial partner. "Married, but not Mated," too, is an old proverb, the truth of which is admitted the world over, and the evils of this want of affinity are great and lasting. So our author thinks, and in his book seeks to do what he can to furnish a remedy. How far he will be successful, remains to be seen. The design, at least, is a good one. His topics are, "Nature and Importance of Marriage; Imprudent Marriages a Source of Vice and Misery; Marrying for Beauty; Mercenary Marriages; The Proper Age for Marriage; Marrying Religiously; Second Marriages; The Faithful Husband; The Faithful Wife; The Duty of Parents."

These subjects are most important. It is hardly possible, however, to do much justice to all, or scarcely one of them, in the compass of 175 well-leaded pages of a duodecimo volume. There is nothing very striking in the manner of presenting the various thoughts, nor originality in the course of thought itself. Good, plain common sense, well expressed—a mingled discourse of the descriptive and hortatory, partly too filled with extracts and occasional statistics and anecdote, constitute the matter of these pages. They may be read with profit, but we doubt if the volume will make all the impression on the community which the benevolent author has at heart in giving it to the public. But we most heartily join him in the fervent prayer that it may be attended by the blessing of Heaven in every family where may find a kindly reception, and that such reception also may be given by not a few of our readers, and others.

Pictures of Slavery in Church and State; including Personal Reminiscences, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, &c., &c., with an Appendix containing the Views of John Wesley and Richard Watson on Slavery. By Rev. John Dixon Long, a Superannuated Minister of the Philadelphia Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Philadelphia: Published by the Author. 1857.

Mr. Long states that he was born, and has lived nearly all his life through, in Maryland. His father was a slaveholder, and from the lips of his mother, a devout member of the Methodist Church, he received his first Anti-Slavery lesson. "Fifteen months ago," he says, "it was my expectation to live and die in my native State." He was resolved to patiently endure the reproaches of those who, for his earnestly bearing his testimony in private "to masters against Slavery," and in public laboring "for the salvation of slaves," might regard him as an Abolitionist. But, for the sake of his four boys, who were beginning to imbibe a "hatred of work and of slaves," he determined to remove to a free State. And he adds—"A Southern gentleman remarked to me, that, if he had sons, and held my views on Slavery, he would act precisely as I have acted." Accordingly, he removed to Philadelphia, where the prevalence of Pro-Slavery sentiment astonished him, as "the justification of Slavery by a Northern man is intolerable." For this reason, he has borne this testimony of his against the system. He feels qualified by experience and observation to speak truly, as he has done frankly, on this subject. Without method, his remarks on the various bearings of Slavery are thrown out in quite a desultory manner. Sometimes a short description, an anecdote, a few statistics or an argument, a satiric hit or earnest appeal, each and all have their place. Its chief value is, that it is a book of facts and impressions furnished by one whose opportunities of knowledge cannot be denied. There is no attempt at fine writing, no desire to be eloquent; in point of style, it is defective; the author confesses he is no scholar; he publishes at his own risk, and on his own responsibility. He will not heed criticism "aimed at the literary execution of the book," for he sets up no claim for it on this ground. If, however, he has "mis-stated facts," he is "open to conviction"—and while his volume was meant for the masses among whom he has lived and labored, he thinks that, even to the learned, some of his thoughts may prove suggestive. We think so too, and we believe that any candid reader will find in its pages a good amount of information illustrative of the evil he seeks to depict, as well as numerous particulars relating to men and customs, of which he is entitled to speak from his personal sources of correct judgment.

AWFUL CALAMITY—THE BURNING OF THE STEAMER MONTREAL—THREE HUNDRED LIVES LOST—MANY OTHERS WOUNDED.

Quebec, June 27.—The steamer Montreal was burnt near Carongo, about 12 miles above this city, last night.

There were about 500 passengers on board, mostly Scotch emigrants, of whom only 175 to 200 were saved by the steamer Napoleon.

It is believed that many swam ashore, and were saved in other ways, but it is certain that as many as two hundred perished in the flames or were drowned. Mr. Phillips, of Three Rivers, is among the dead. The captain of the Montreal, J. C. Rudolph, and the crew, are among the saved.

The reporters have just returned from the steamer Napoleon, which has arrived with the saved. They are assured by those who were on board that the number of the lost will fully reach three hundred and fifty.

Quebec, June 27, *P. M.*—The following further particulars relative to the burning of the steamer Montreal have been obtained:

The Montreal left here at four o'clock yesterday afternoon for Montreal, with four or five hundred passengers, mostly Scotch emigrants, recently arrived from Europe. Nothing unusual occurred until the steamer reached Cape Range, twelve or fifteen miles above Quebec, when the woodwork near the furnaces was discovered to be on fire. Quickly after, the flames broke forth, causing the utmost consternation among the passengers. Every possible effort was made to appease the flames, but to no purpose. Captain Randolph, finding it impossible to save the steamer, ordered her to be run toward the shore. The officers and crew of the Montreal exerted themselves at the same time to get out the life-boats.

The flames spread with the most astonishing rapidity, and the wildest confusion and despair prevailed throughout the ship. A number of the passengers threw themselves overboard, and were drowned.

Fortunately, the steamer Napoleon, also for Montreal, was but a few miles in advance of the burning boat, and put back, with all possible expedition, to her assistance.

The Napoleon succeeded in rescuing from the burning wreck 127 passengers. Capt. Randolph and the purser of the Montreal were amongst those who threw themselves into the river. Both being excellent swimmers, they succeeded in reaching the steamer Alliance, and were saved.

It is quite possible that some of the others succeeded in saving themselves by swimming; but as the steamer became unmanageable when a considerable distance from land, no doubt the most of those who threw themselves from the burning boat met a watery grave. Sixteen of those who were saved died shortly after reaching the deck of the Napoleon.

From present information, it is believed that the total loss of life by this terrible disaster will not fall far short of three or four hundred persons. The steamer Alliance arrived here this afternoon, with forty-five of the dead bodies. We have not been able to learn the names of any of those lost, except that of Mr. Phillips, of the extensive lumber firm of Norcross & Phillips, of Three Rivers.

The Montreal had on board 258 Scotch emigrants, several German families, and several American passengers.

TWO WEEKS LATER FROM CALIFORNIA.

Large Amount of Gold—Great Fire at Port-au-Prince.

New York, June 28.—The steamer Illinois has arrived from Aspinwall, with the California mails of the 5th inst., and about two million dollars in specie. She brings nearly 800 passengers.

The bark J. R. Mera arrived at Panama on the 19th inst., with 300 of Walker's men on board. They were sent to Aspinwall and put on board the U. S. frigate Roanoke.

The Illinois brings an account of a great fire at Port-au-Prince, where one hundred houses were destroyed.

Judge Brubes comes passenger on board the Illinois.

The U. S. sloop of war Saratoga arrived at Aspinwall on the 15th. On the 16th., the sloop of war Cyane, from San Juan del Norte, with 142 of Walker's men, arrived. The steamer Wabash sailed from Aspinwall on the 17th inst., with 142 of Walker's men. Three hundred more of Walker's men were on board the Roanoke when the Illinois sailed.

Advices from Aspinwall state that a proposition had been presented to the New Granadian Congress, giving the President power to settle the difficulty between the United States and New Granada. It had not been acted on at the last accounts.

The news from the South Pacific is unimportant. Peru is quiet. The insurgent General Vivanco is still at Arequipa. He still held possession of the steamers Aparimac and Peytona, but remained inactive, and the Government of Castilla was considered as finally re-established.

The English and French protectorate over the Chincha Islands is confirmed.

A French steamer had left Callao for the islands, with the French Minister, to put the protectorate in force. It is said that the United States Minister had protested against the proceeding.

The United States ship St. Mary's sailed from Panama on the 13th, for the newly-discovered guano islands and San Francisco. The John Adams sailed on the 16th for Central America.

The latest advices from Costa Rica are to the 16th. Gen. Canas still held Rivas, and the river San Juan was in possession of the Costa Ricans, to whom the import duties were paid.

More reliable intelligence from the Sonora expeditionists has been received. The main facts of the total annihilation of Col. Crabbe's party are fully confirmed.

The trial of Edward McGowan, on the charge of being accessory to the murder of James King, at San Francisco, had been brought to a termination, and he was found guilty.

A Democratic State Convention was to be held at San Francisco on the 16th of July. The most prominent gubernatorial aspirant, ex-Senator John B. Weller, encounters opposition from the Broderick clique, who will use every exertion to insure the nomination of their candidate.

Great indignation is felt throughout the State against the Mormons at Salt Lake, since the developments made by Judge Drummond concerning them.

FOUR DAYS LATER FROM EUROPE.

River Du Loupe, June 27.—The Canadian screw steamship Indian, with Liverpool dates of the 17th inst., passed this point, on her passage to Quebec and Montreal, at an early hour this morning.

The steamers City of Baltimore, from Liverpool, and North Star and Hermann, from Southampton, all for New York, sailed on the same day as the Indian.

The steamer Niagara's advices reached Liverpool on the 14th.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Parliament was discussing the Jews disabilities bill. The Roman Catholic amendment was defeated by an immense majority. The bill was sustained on a test question by a vote of 341 to 200.

The London *Times* advocates the abolition of Slavery in Cuba, as the only effectual means of checking the slave trade.

A public meeting had been held at Ashton, under the auspices of the new "Cotton Supply Association." Resolutions similar to those adopted at Liverpool were passed.

The great Handel festival took place at the Crystal Palace, Sydenham, on the 13th. The band and chorus numbered 2,500 persons, and the attendance was very large.

The baptism of the infant Princess of England took place in the chapel, in Buckingham Palace, on the 16th instant. She was named Beatrice Mary Victoria.

Consols closed at 93½ for account.

The American ship Robena arrived at the Woolwich Arsenal on the 13th, having on board six breech-loading guns manufactured in New York by order of the British Government.

It was understood that arrangements had been perfected for running the Canadian line of steamers between Liverpool and Quebec weekly instead of fortnightly, as heretofore. A contract was also to be immediately entered into for building a number of new and more powerful steamers.

The funeral of Douglas Jerrold took place on the 15th, and was attended by a large number of the most eminent men of literature and art.

FRANCE.

The French election matters are unchanged. The opposition tickets are divided in Paris. The Orleanist Republican fusion was in full force, doing all it could to insure the return of at least a few deputies.

It was rumored that Napoleon was to have an interview with the Czar in Germany in July.

The treaty of commerce between Russia and France has been signed.

The official returns for 1856 shows great increase in the imports and exports.

BELGIUM.

The closing of the sessions had been formally decreed, as well as the adjournment of the bill and charitable establishments.

SWITZERLAND.

The National Council had unanimously ratified the Neufchatel treaty.

AUSTRIA.

Austria was making further concessions to the Hungarians.

Rumors were rife of a conference of the potentates of the Italian States. The Pope of Rome, the Emperor of Austria, the King of Naples, and others, it is said, would also be present at it.

GENERAL SUMMARY.

A steam schooner has recently been built in Bangor, Maine, for the purpose of raising the steamer Philadelphia, sunk near Cape Race a few years ago. The submarine apparatus to be used is thus described:

"The diving-bells are made of the best boiler-plate iron, strongly riveted—one of them 9 feet by 6 on the bottom, and the other about 6 feet square—both about 6 feet high, and narrowing towards the top, and furnished with air pipes and valves, so that men can work in them comfortably and to good advantage.

"The armor, of which there is two suits, made by Messrs. I. S. Tompkins & Son, of Boston, consists of a stout suit of india-rubber cloth, made air-tight, fitting so closely at the wrists and ankles as to be completely impervious to the water—this being screwed tightly at the neck into a copper helmet lined with zinc, and large enough to allow several inches of space all around the head. The helmet has a sort of cape of the same material, resting on the shoulders, and sustaining the weight of the whole, which is between 30 and 40 pounds when out of water. It is furnished with three circular windows, each 5 inches in diameter, with a pipe for the admission of air and a valve to permit its exit, and thus to give a constant change—the valve being regulated by a screw by the diver himself. The pipe furnishing the air to the diver (and permitting him to move upon the bottom of the sea, with heavy weights attached to his feet) is a third of an inch thick, made of seven or eight thicknesses of strong cloth saturated with and cemented together by gutta percha. It is capable of resisting great pressure, and is at the same time elastic and pliable."

The United States District Court for the Southern District of Illinois has decided that *watches* are not mailable matter:

"A postmaster was tried for robbing the mail of two watches, which were in a box which contained no other letter or writing; and Judge Treat decided, that as watches were not mailable matter, the prisoner must be acquitted of the charge of robbing the mails. The jury, therefore, rendered a verdict of not guilty. The prisoner was detained long enough to allow of his re-arrest by the county authorities, on a charge of larceny."

The total valuation of the State of Connecticut is shown to be $214,000,000. New Haven is the wealthiest city of the State, having property to the amount of twenty-one millions of dollars.

Mayor Wood, of New York, is at last out of Sheriff's custody. Upon the trial of the writ of *habeas corpus* before Judge Russell, it was proved that the Mayor did not know the errand of Coroner Perry, who came to arrest him.

The New York *Times* says:

"Advices have been received from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to the 30th of May. Vigorous measures were being adopted to punish the Indians for their numerous outrages upon the whites—three hundred and fifty troops, under Col. Bonneville, having entered the Gila-Apache country for that purpose. The Governor of the Mexican State of Chihuahua also designed opening hostilities, in which he would co-operate with Col. Bonneville."

The Republicans of Maine have nominated Lot M. Morrill for Governor.

The Boston *Traveller* has a Kansas letter, dated June 18, from which we extract the following paragraphs;

"The returns of Monday's election come in very slowly, but enough are received here to show that the whole affair has proved a most complete fizzle.

"The number of votes polled here was but 225. The whole number in this county (which is the most populous in the State, and could poll several thousand votes) does not exceed 500. Jefferson county, which has also a large population, is said to have polled but 50 votes. Douglas county, which includes Lawrence and Lecompton, and embraces a large and populous region in that portion of the Territory, gives 174 ballots. In Franklin county it is claimed that there are 500 voters, but I am assured, by a gentleman who has just arrived from there, that there has been practically no election there. When he left, he could only hear of 30 votes that had been polled in the whole county.

"P. S. I open this letter to give you information of the horrible massacre and destruction of an overland emigrant train to California, of which intelligence has just been received here. The train, which consisted of seventeen wagons, when about a hundred miles west of Fort Kearney, was attacked by a party of Sioux or Cheyenne Indians, who murdered every person in it—men, women, and children—burnt the wagons, and drove off the cattle.

"The number of persons on the train is said to have about twenty."

The French Republicans have ventured, in their recent election, to put forth a list of candidates in opposition to those of the Government. The following was the Republican Ticket in Paris:

"*First District*—Edward Laboulaye, member of the Institute, one of the editors of the *Journal des Debats*, Orleanist.

"*Second District*—Bethmont, former Minister.

"*Third District*—General Cavaignac.

"*Fourth District*—Emile Ollivier, lawyer.

"*Fifth District*—Carnot, former Minister.

"*Sixth District*—Goudchaux, former Minister.

"*Seventh District*—Darimon, one of the editors of *La Presse*.

"*Eighth District*—Varin, former Representative of the People.

"*Ninth District*—F. de Lasteyrie, former Representative.

"*Tenth District*—Regnault, former Under-Prefect of Sceaux."

We make the following extract from the preface to Charlotte Bronte's *first* story, now about to be published. It was written just previous to the author's death:

"'I said to myself,' she says, 'that my hero should work his way through life as I had seen real living men work theirs—that he should never get a shilling he had not earned—that no sudden turn should lift him in a moment to wealth and high station; that whatever small competency he might gain, should be won by the sweat of his brow; that before he could find as much as an arbor to sit down in, he should master at least half the ascent of the Hill of Difficulty; that he should not even marry a beautiful girl or a lady of rank; as Adam's son, he should share Adam's doom, and drain throughout life a mixed and moderate cup of enjoyment. In the sequel, however, I found that publishers in general scarcely approve of this system; but would have liked something more imaginative and poetical, something more consonant with a highly-wrought fancy, with a taste for pathos, with sentiments more tender, elevated, unworldly. Indeed, until an author has tried to dispose of a manuscript of this kind, he can never know what stores of romance and sensibility lie hidden in breasts he would not have suspected of casketing such treasures.'"

The Wheat Crop in Virginia.—Several farmers have already commenced cutting their wheat near Fredericksburg, and next week harvest will begin generally throughout the State. A parcel of new wheat was received at Petersburg a few days ago. The yield, it is now admitted, will be larger than anticipated. In Albemarle county, the crop, it is said, will be more abundant than for the past fifteen years. In the counties of Lancaster, Richmond, and Westmoreland, the crop is one of the finest which has been produced in that section of country for many years.

Gov. Walker's Course in Kansas.—*Washington, June* 26.—There appears to exist at the South an intense degree of excitement on the subject of Kansas, and the influence which Gov. Walker and the Administration are alleged to have exerted in favor of rendering it a free State. On the other hand, the Anti-Slavery leaders of the North have accused the Administration of a deliberate purpose of making Kansas a slave State.

The inaugural address of Gov. Walker gave as much dissatisfaction at the North as at the South. But his Topeka address has been somewhat better received by the more reasonable portion of the Northern Republican journals. Both of these addresses show distinctly that Gov. Walker's course is in conformity with his instructions, and meets with the approval of the Executive. The *Union* of this morning has a leader on the subject, which sets forth the views of the Administration, and goes to support the position taken by Gov. Walker.

While the Administration intimates no desire whether Kansas shall be a free or a slave State, it will so enforce the law as to enable bona fide citizens of Kansas to decide the vexed question for themselves, "free from all outside and improper influences." It is quite certain that the Robinson Topeka party will not vote upon the Constitution, if it shall be submitted, unless they shall be assured of fair play. It is not unlikely that they will consider and treat reasonable and proper restrictions upon the suffrage as unjust and unfair to them.—*Correspondence Baltimore Sun.* Ion.

Movements of United States Troops.—Companies B, C, E, F, and K, 5th Infantry, numbering 480 men, arrived at New Orleans from Florida, 19th instant., en route for Jefferson Barracks. They are accompanied by the following officers: Capt. C. C. Sibley, commanding; Capt. and Brevet Major N. B. Russell, Capt. J. C. Robinson, Capt. H. R. Selden, 1st Lieut. B. Wingate, 1st Lieut. W. H. Lewis, 2d Lieut. L. L. Rich, 2d Lieut. Hill, 2d Lieut. J. F. Ritter, Acting Adjutant and Assistant Surgeon A. C. Ridgeley.

Extensive Forgeries.—We learn from the Hartford (Conn.) *Times*, that forgeries to the amount of about $18,000 have been discovered in that city, on paper drawn by various persons, pedlers, generally, and endorsed by Dan. W. King, his father, Dan. King, and Daniel W. Norton, all of Suffield. Some of the paper was in bank for collection, some of it had been discounted, and some had been bought by brokers.

Bank Frauds in England.—It appears that criminal informations have been filed in London against the directors of the British Bank, several of them have been captured, and have been held to bail in $40,000. Among those against whom a warrant was issued, was the notorious Humphrey Brown, late M. P. from Tewkesbury, who opened his account with the British Bank with the heavy sum of $91, and in two days afterwards contracted a loan of $10,000 with it, which he speedily made only $385,000, and has since told the assignee that it is "idle" to ask him to repay any of it.

Execution at Chicago.—The execution of William Jackson, for the murder of Roman Norris, took place at Chicago on Friday last. The *Tribune* thus describes the execution:

"The prisoner ascended the scaffold with a firm tread, and neither in manner nor act betrayed the slightest terror. From the moment he left the jail until he reached the gallows, he was engaged in prayer, and wept almost constantly. His face was flushed and his eyes red with weeping, and apparently fixed upon vacancy. After a short prayer by Rev. Mr. Baum, the prisoner's cravat was removed, his arms and legs pinioned, and his body was enveloped in a large white shroud. The rope was then adjusted, the black cap drawn over his face, Sheriff Wilson released the weight, and at five minutes past one o'clock the soul of William Jackson went to the judgment bar of God. His last words were, 'Oh! Lord God, save and receive me!' While on the scaffold, he spoke but a few words, but his lips seemed constantly moving in prayer. When all was in readiness, Jackson shook hands with Mr. Baum, Mr. Parks his counsel, Mr. Bradley, Mr. Wilson, and others, and bade them good bye.

"The wretched criminal struggled only about four minutes, and during that time but little. The physician examined his neck, and found that it was broken."

Charlotte Bronte and Mr. Wilson.—Mr. H. Shepherd, late Fellow and Tutor of Orial College, Oxford, Incumbent of Chasterton, and Chaplain and Secretary of the Clergy Daughters' School, writes a long letter to the London *Times*, to repel the charges of cruelty and spiritual pride, brought by the late Charlotte Bronte in *Jane Eyre*, and repeated by Mrs. Gaskell in her Life of the novelist, against Mr. Carus Wilson, in connection with the Cowen Bridge or Chasterton School.

Mrs. Gaskell seems to have got into several scrapes by her life of Charlotte Bronte. The aged father feels deeply her remarks concerning his treatment of his children, and she has been compelled to send an apology, through a solicitor, to a lady who has been grievously injured by the imputation cast upon her by the reference to an alleged private fact in the unhappy career of Bramwell Bronte,

New potatoes are selling at Harrisburgh, Pa., at eight cents a quart.

One or two of the papers of Mexico advocate a dictatorship for that republic. A bad sign.

The New Orleans papers of June 16th give an account of the detection of a conspiracy of the friends of Santa Anna, in the city of Mexico, to overthrow the existing Government. Among the persons arrested were a large number of military officers, and State dignitaries, under former administrations, who were at once sent off to the chain gang at Yucatan. The *Mexican Extraordinary*, speaking of their appearance as felons, thus describes the scene:

"On Wednesday morning we witnessed the novelty of a score of fashionables chained in couples, and marching through the streets with the usual guard that accompanies the gang destined to public works. Each had a spade upon his shoulder, and the party came to a halt in the Callejon de Santa Clara, where the very necessary but not very agreeable operation of cleansing the sewers was performed. The contrast between patent leather boots and shackles was striking, from their unpleasant juxtaposition; and the more so, from a background of black mud peculiar to the city, and very redolent of sulphuretted hydrogen. The promptitude and novelty of the castigation caused a general surprise and excitement, as well as much comment, and some sympathy—which last we cannot help thinking superfluous, as we remember that hanging and quartering was, until recently, the punishment for treason."

Georgia Democratic Convention.—*Augusta, Ga., June* 25.—The Democratic Convention of this State met at Milledgeville on Wednesday, to nominate State officers. A series of resolutions were adopted, endorsing the Cincinnati platform, and condemning Governor Walker's policy in the administration of the Government in Kansas. The Convention at the last accounts was balloting for a gubernatorial candidate.

Augusta, June 26.—The resolutions passed by the Democratic Convention express confidence in Mr. Buchanan's Administration. That in relation to Gov. Walker reads thus:

Resolved, That the address of Gov. Walker, in prescribing the terms on which Congress should admit Kansas into the Union, and in attempting to dictate the submission of their Constitution for ratification, constitutes a presumptuous interference in matters over which he has no legitimate control. And the same address, in expressing the official opinion that Kansas will become a free State, and in presenting arguments to support that side of the question, is a gross departure from the principles of non-intervention and of neutrality which were established by the Kansas bill. And the Convention has full confidence that Mr. Buchanan will manifest that fidelity to the principles which carried him into office, by recalling Gov. Walker.

After twenty unsuccessful ballotings for Governor, Mr. Gardiner's name was withdrawn. On the last ballot, Mr. Lumpkin had 179, and Lamar 174. Much excitement prevailed, and a committee of conference was appointed.

Mr. Stephens has been nominated for Congress.

Emigration from Canada.—According to Canadian papers, emigration from Canada to the Western States continues, and is increasing to an extent sufficient to excite alarm among the people of the provinces; causing the more than decimation of the population in certain districts. The *Pays*, alluding to a certain parish, says:

"Six young men left for the Western States yesterday. They were almost the only ones remaining in the parish over twenty years of age. All the others have left during the last two years. I have been truly alarmed at seeing in the churches only old people, and young ones under fifteen years of age. Few persons have any idea of the extent of this emigration. You may think that I exaggerate, but I assure you that I have established the correctness of the fact that, in the neighboring parishes as well as in this, in a concession possessing sixty families, may be found from two to six women whose husbands have left them to go to the United States. In many concessions there is not a single young man old enough to marry."

The Regulators in Indiana.—We understand that the most intense excitement has prevailed at Bloomington during the whole of the present week, in consequence of the examination of Coons and the two Morgans, charged with the murder of Mr. Bingham. Some three hundred "Regulators" and their sympathizers have been in town all the week. A counter organization, called the "Moderators," has been formed to oppose the "Regulators," numbering some two hundred persons. They have, however, the sympathies of much the larger portion of the community. Both parties are fully armed, and there is great fear of collision. Nearly all business in Bloomington has been suspended during the week. The complicity of the three men under arrest in the killing of Mr. Bingham is not, we understand, disputed; but the "Regulators" insist that they shall be admitted to bail, while the "Moderators" insist that no bail shall be taken. The principal attorneys for the prosecution are Hon. James Hughes, G. A. Buskirk, General Lowe, and F. T. Butler; for the defence, Governor Dunning, S. H. Buskirk, and others whose names we do not remember.—*Brookfield (Ia.) Democrat.*

How we Look in Greek.—A Life of Washington has just made its appearance at Athens, Greece. That noble people appreciate fully, as they have reason to do, our great struggle for liberty, and especially the characters of the Revolutionary heroes, but they make shocking work with their names. Washington is rendered *Ouasigston*; Hancock, *Agkok*; Bunker Hill, *Bosnonton Bongker*; and old Gov. Dinwiddie figures, in the classic language of Homer, Demosthenes, and Plato, as *Diocketes Dinouiddes*.

Grasshoppers in Minnesota.—The St. Anthony (Min.) *Express* speaks of the ravages of the grasshoppers in that region as follows:

"The region around Monticello is literally alive with grasshoppers. Never in our life did we see so many of these troublesome and destructive insects. They crackled under one's feet like brittle shells. There was no such thing as avoiding them; whichever way one looked or went, they were manifesting themselves. Though not yet half grown, they are already doing immense damage, and, unless they speedily emigrate, must devour every green thing in Wright county."

Jews in Parliament.—The English papers give the following explanation of the Catholic opposition to the "oaths" bill for the admission of Jews into Parliament;

"The Roman Catholic members of Parliament, headed by the Duke of Norfolk, had risen in oposition to the measure, and had waited upon Lord Palmerston, and held a meeting, for the purpose of securing relief for the Catholics from the objectionable passages in the oaths now taken by members of the Legislature. The interview with Lord Palmerston not being deemed satisfactory, it was resolved to support amendments to the bill in committee, embodying the views of the Catholics, and to memorialize Parliament to frame an oath for all classes, without distinction of creed. It is feared that this movement would jeopard the bill, and some of the Catholic presses opposed the interference."

Iron and Steam vs. Wood and Canvas.—A British publication predicts that, before the end of the present century, there will not probably be a wooden hull navigating the Atlantic under canvas. Upwards of eighty steamers, mostly screw propellers, are being built in England for the Atlantic trade. In this country, it is said, that there is not a single screw propeller on the stocks. It may well be asked, how the mercantile interest of the United States intend to maintain themselves against this great competition, unless they prepare at once for the struggle. The indications are plain, that wood and canvas will be superseded by iron and steam; and those who are first prepared for the change, will long enjoy superiority in the advantages.

A fire in Bristol, R. I., a few days ago, destroyed the oakum works of Messrs. Devol, Diman, & Chase, with 700 bales of hemp, a considerable amount of material in the process of manufacture, and all the machinery. Loss from $12,000 to $14,000. Insurance $10,000.

The Louisville *Journal* says that all the old lumber of Henry Clay's home at Ashland has been sold to William S. Rand, of Maysville, Ky., a Democrat, for the manufacture of canes, boxes, &c.

Wheat, the American candidate for judge in Kentucky, is elected by about 100 majority.

Hon. Fayette McMullin, the new Governor of Washington Territory, will sail for the Pacific about July 20th.

Kansas.—Both branches of the Free State Legislature of Kansas adjourned on the 14th, *sine die*. Governor Walker was in Topeka most of the session, but no movement was made to interfere with or break up the Legislature. One year ago, the members were either arrested or dispersed at the point of United States bayonets. The following enactments were passed by both branches of the Legislature:

An act providing for taking the census, and apportioning the representation of the State. It provides for the appointment by the Governor of five marshals, who will appoint deputies through the Territory, and take the census immediately. The apportionment is to be such as to give the Senate not more than twenty members, and the House not more than sixty. An act for an election on the first Monday in August, to fill such State offices as may be vacant, and to elect a Representative to Congress. An act locating the seat of Government at Topeka. An act establishing a State University at Lawrence. A joint resolution memorializing Congress for admission to the Union under the Topeka Constitution.

There was a disposition, on the part of the House, to enact laws providing for the incorporation of towns, the organization of counties, townships, &c., but the Senate only concurred in the enactments named above. A general desire seemed to exist in the region south of the Kansas river, to put the State Government into immediate operation. A unanimous feeling was manifested, that whenever Kansas does come into the Union, it must be under the Topeka Constitution. A meeting was held in Quindaro after the adjournment of the Legislature, and the proceedings and policy fully approved.

Gen. Lewis, the Sheriff of Greene county, Ohio, the man who arrested the posse of deputy U. S. marshals in the celebrated fugitive slave case, was in turn taken into custody on Tuesday, by the U. S. marshals, at his residence in Xenia. Of course he made no resistance, quietly accompanied the officers to this city, gave bail for his appearance before the U. S. court to answer the charge of obstructing U. S. officers in the performance of their duty, and will be duly on hand.

On Sunday last, three slaves—two belonging to Mr. John Sanford, and one to Mr. John Berry—made tracks from Henry county, Ky. They were traced across the Ohio river, and on Monday discovered hidden in the brush and behind logs, about four miles back from the river, on Kane's Branch. The negroes, being armed, made a desperate resistance; and one of them belonging to Berry, while in the act of shooting Mr. James Humphreys, one of his pursuers, was shot, and instantly killed. The second escaped, while the third was arrested and taken back to Kentucky.

Crops in Georgia.—The wheat harvest in Georgia is now being gathered. A letter in the New York *Journal of Commerce*, from Athens, says that, both as to quantity and quality, it is the best ever had in Georgia. Oats have suffered a little from dry weather, although a full average yield is harvested, or will be. Corn is backward and small for the season of the year, but is generally healthy, and may yet turn out well. Cotton, however, is too much injured fully to recover, no matter how much it may be favored hereafter.

Benevolent Movement.—The Alexandria (Va.) *Gazette* states that the Odd Fellows of Potomac Lodge are making the necessary arrangements to establish a male and female school in that city, where the children of deceased members are to be educated free of expense.

An Asylum for the Oppressed.—We learn from the *Gazette* that Col. George C. Mendenhall, of Jamestown, Guilford county, North Carolina, passed through this city on Wednesday afternoon last, on his way to Logan county, Ohio.

Colonel Mendenhall had with him five negro women, slaves who had been reared in his family, but whom he had emancipated, and he was taking them to their destination in Logan county, having provided for them comfortable homes, and the means to support themselves until they were able to take care of themselves as free women. This makes the fourth trip that the Colonel has made to this State within a few years, and fifty slaves that he has emancipated and settled in Ohio.

Mr. Mendenhall has shown himself a true philanthropist, and the blessings of the weak and the suffering will follow him.—*Columbus (Ohio) State Journal.*

Death of Douglas Jerrold.—By the Persia we have intelligence of the death of Douglas Jerrold, the well-known dramatic and political writer, in the 56th year of his age. Self-educated in a printing office, (being a practical printer,) the deceased rose by the force of his own energy to a commanding position in the literary circles of England. He was first known to fame as a writer for the stage. He has written in all some forty plays. His "Black-Eyed Susan," and the "Rent Day," stamped him at once as the most popular dramatist of his time—as the writer, above all others, who could command the suffrages of the multitude. Shortly after "Punch" was established, Jerrold became one of its regular contributors. One of his earliest contributions, "On the custom of blessing the colors for the army," was so strongly in the interests of the Peace Society, that the "Friends" had it printed and placarded on the walls of several of the large towns. He soon became a leading spirit in that hebdomadal castigator of follies and shame. "Punch's Almanac," too, was indebted to Jerrold for many of its most piquant contents. "The Caudle Lectures" will never be an unread book among us. These, and "The Story of a Feather," first appeared in *Punch*.

As a political writer, Mr. Jerrold showed his powers in the weekly newspaper which bore his name, and which he started in 1844. Eight, ten, and a dozen sparkling leaders from his pen appeared regularly in its pages. During his life, he was also connected with numerous other magazines and newspapers, among them "Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper," of which he was the editor. His versatility was great, and for a fearless exposure of proved abuses, says one of the English journals, he has scarcely left his equal behind. Mr. Jerrold was at the head of a band of modern writers who have done more than any other men to raise the great middle class of English society to its present position.—*Baltimore Sun.*

Beef Cattle from Illinois and Texas.—One hundred and six car loads of stock—nearly three thousand animals—passed between Cleveland and Dunkirk, in two days, last week, and on Friday there arrived by the Ohio and Mississippi road twenty car loads of fat cattle and hogs from the prairies of Illinois. They were immediately re-shipped by the drovers on the cars of the Cincinnati, Hamilton, and Dayton road, to Sandusky, thence to Buffalo by steam propellers, and so on to New York. Large importations are also expected from Texas and other sections further south. Cattle can be got on the Southern prairies for $3 and $4 per head.

Movement of United States Troops.—Companies A and H, 5th Infantry, under command of Capt. Whitall and Lieutenants Webb and Torbert, numbering 120 men, arrived at New Orleans on the 18th inst. They embarked at Fort Myers, (Fla.,) and are en route for Jefferson Barracks.

Two hundred troops from St. Paul arrived at St. Louis on the 21st inst., and took passage up the Missouri for Fort Leavenworth. They are under the command of Col. Alexander, and are destined for Utah, as a portion of the expedition in preparation for the escort of the new Governor of that Territory.

Mr. Dallas.—Letters from England state that Mr. Dallas, the American Minister, had been formally invited to Oxford, to receive, on the 22d instant, the degree of L. L. D., from that celebrated institution. He long since had that honor conferred upon him by his alma mater, Princeton College.

Norwegians.—At least a thousand Norwegians arrived at Milwaukee on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week; and from a conversation with them, it was ascertained that at least twenty thousand of their countrymen are coming to America the present year.

Our latest Louisiana exchanges complain of intolerably hot weather, and rejoice in flourishing crops.

Howell Cobb is already named for the Presidency by some of the Democratic journals.

The Pittsburgh, Columbus, and Cincinnati railroad is now open for travel.

Death of Hon. Stephen C. Phillips.—*Boston, June* 29.—The Hon. Stephen C. Phillips, of Salem, is among the dead by the burning of the steamer Montreal. His body has been recovered. Mr. Phillips was returning home from Three Rivers, where he had been on a visit to his son.

Permanent Cures in all affections of the throat and lungs are constantly being made by Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry. Great as is its reputation, its works are greater. Many physicians speak of it in the highest terms.

CHAPLIN BAIL FUND.

The Editor of the *Era* acknowledges the receipt of the following sums, on account of Chaplin's Bail:

Amos Townsend	$10.00	A. Stetson	1.00
John Knepper	2.00	S. McNair	.50
J. Callahan, Jr.	5.00	W. Criss	.50
S. K. Williams and four others	5.00	Mr. Potter	.75
		Mr. McDuffee	.25
A Female Reader	1.00	D. J. Stetson	3.00
J. L. Sinclair	2.00	M. R. Britten	3.00
E. W. Stearns & others	2.60	By L. D. Williams, viz:	
Charles Williams	5.00	Hon. John Dick	5.00
By M. R. Britten, viz:		A. Hinderkooper	5.00
E. Evarts	3.00	E. Hinderkooper	2.00
E. A. Coombs	1.00	L. D. Williams	3.00
J. P. Langmaid	1.00	J. Liddon Dennock	5.00
A. A. Hoyt	1.00	J. E. Oliver	3.00
		Total	$70.00

MARKETS.

BALTIMORE MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, June 30, 1857.

Flour, Howard Street	$7.50 @ 0.00
Flour, City Mills	7.50 @ 7.75
Rye Flour	4.50 @ 4.62
Corn Meal	3.75 @ 4.25
Wheat, white	1.85 @ 1.95
Wheat, red	1.75 @ 1.85
Corn, white	85 @ 90
Corn, yellow	85 @ 87
Rye, Pennsylvania	1.00 @ 1.03
Rye, Virginia	80 @ 00
Oats, Maryland and Virginia	50 @ 52
Oats, Pennsylvania	55 @ 58
Clover Seed	7.25 @ 8.25
Timothy Seed	3.75 @ 4.00
Hay, Timothy	15.00 @20.00
Hops	7 @ 14
Potatoes, Mercer	1.30 @ 1.40
Bacon, Shoulders	10½@ 11
Bacon, Sides	12½@ 13
Bacon, Hams	12½@ 00
Pork, Mess	22.50 @23.00
Pork, Prime	18.00 @18.50
Beef, Mess	16.00 @20.00
Lard, in barrels	13 @ 14½
Lard, in kegs	14¾@ 15
Wool, Unwashed	25 @ 27
Wool, Washed	33 @ 36
Wool, Pulled	29 @ 33
Wool, Fleece, common	34 @ 38
Wool, Fleece, fine	47 @ 52
Wool, Choice Merino	50 @ 55
Butter, Western, in kegs	14 @ 15
Butter, Roll	23 @ 25
Cheese	12½@ 14
Coffee, Rio	10½@ 10¾
Coffee, Java	15 @ 16

NEW YORK MARKET.

Carefully prepared to Tuesday, June 30, 1857.

Flour, State brands	$6.30 @ 6.50
Flour, State brands, extra	6.75 @ 7.00
Flour, Western	6.75 @ 7.50
Flour, Southern	7.39 @ 7.65
Rye Flour	4.25 @ 6.00
Corn Meal	4.00 @ 4.30
Wheat, white	0.00 @ 0.00
Wheat, red	0.00 @ 0.00
Corn, white	85 @ 86
Corn, yellow	85 @ 86
Rye	1.17 @ 1.20
Oats	66 @ 67
Clover Seed	11.00 @12.00
Timothy Seed	3.50 @ 3.75
Hay	70 @ 75
Hops	7 @ 12
Bacon, Shoulders	9½@ 00
Bacon, Sides	10 @ 00
Bacon, Hams	10¾@ 10⅞
Pork, Mess	21.50 @22.00
Pork, Prime	18.85 @19.00
Beef	14.00 @15.00
Lard, in barrels	14½@ 14⅝
Lard, in kegs	15 @ 15½
Butter, Western	17 @ 20
Butter, State	18 @ 22
Cheese	6 @ 10½
Coffee, Rio	10 @ 11¼
Coffee, Java	15¾@ 16
Wool, Unwashed	00 @ 00
Wool, Washed	45 @ 00
Wool, Pulled	33 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, common	00 @ 00
Wool, Fleece, fine	36 @ 52
Iron, Scotch, Pig	29.50 @30.00
Lime, Rockland	1.20 @ 0.00
Lime, common	80 @ 00

WISTAR'S BALSAM IN VERMONT.

Irasburgh, Vermont, *May* 5.

Gentlemen: I am nearly out of the *Balsam of Wild Cherry*. You may forward, if you please, two or three dozen more. The medicine gives better satisfaction here in pulmonary complaints than any others that I have kept. I have tried it with perfect satisfaction upon myself, having been troubled with a severe cough for more than a year, and having profuse night sweats for the last month. I had tried various popular remedies without material benefit. At length I tried *Wistar's Balsam of Wild Cherry*, and before I had finished the first bottle I found great relief. Two bottles have wrought a cure.

Yours, respectfully,
HUBBARD HASTINGS.

To Seth W. Fowle & Co., *Boston.*

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N. B. The character of the business should be particularly described. 548

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A Lecture, by a Clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church.

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THE NATIONAL ERA.

Washington, D. C.

G. BAILEY, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR;
JOHN G. WHITTIER, CORRESPONDING EDITOR.

PROSPECTUS OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME,

BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1857.

The *National Era* is an uncompromising opponent of Slavery and the Slave Power; an advocate of personal, civil, and religious liberty, without regard to race or creed; a foe to all secret combinations to control the Ballot-Box, whether under the direction of priests or laymen, and to all measures directly or indirectly countenancing proscription on account of birthplace or religion; a friend of Temperance, the Homestead, and all reforms calculated to secure to Labor its just consideration, recompense, and political weight, and to Trade, its Natural Freedom, in virtue of which every man has a right to buy and sell in whatever market he pleases. It believes in the right of individual judgment in all matters, whether of religion or politics, and rejects the dogma of passive obedience and non-resistance in both Church and State; holding that no man who swears to support the Constitution of the United States can deliberately violate his own settled convictions of its meaning, without incurring the guilt of perjury, and that no citizen can obey a human enactment which requires him to commit injustice, without immorality.

It regards Slavery, and the issues involved in it, as forming the great Political Question of the Day; taking the ground, that Slavery, from its necessities, instincts, and habits, is perpetually antagonistic to Freedom and Free Labor, and unchangeably aggressive; that its workings can be counteracted only by a permanent system of measures; and it therefore has supported, and will continue to support, the Republican Party, so long as it shall be true to Freedom, holding itself, however, perfectly independent, at liberty to approve or condemn whatever may accord or conflict with its oft-avowed principles.

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My subscribers have stood by the *Era* handsomely. No paper can boast warmer or more steadfast friends. They have not forgotten that, whatever the claims and merits of other papers, the *Era*, in the face of imminent perils, was the pioneer to Freedom of the Press in this slaveholding District, and has been for ten years the only journal at the seat of the Federal Government, representing the sentiments of the Free States on the great Question of the Country, the only journal through which their loyal representatives in Congress could find voice and vindication. They have not forgotten, nor will they forget, that while papers engaged in the same Cause elsewhere, have strong local interests to rely upon, and the papers printed here, opposed to our Cause, thrive through the patronage of the Federal Government, the *Era* is uniformly proscribed by that Government, and its legal right to official advertisements denied, while, so far from having the support, it is constantly subjected to the opposition, of strong local interests; so that its only dependence is upon those enlightened friends of Freedom, all over the country, who appreciate the necessity of maintaining such a sentinel on the outpost of Freedom.

G. BAILEY.

Washington, D. C., January 1, 1857.

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This is the very best popular exhibition of the Bible argument against Slavery. It should be read specially by those who have denounced political preaching. Dr. Cheever's rhetoric is brilliant, his eloquence sometimes partaking of the vehemence and grandeur of the old Hebrew prophets. His pungent satire enlivens his page. His courage never quails before man or devil, and his philanthropic sympathies are as broad as the family of man.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE SOUTHERN PRESS.

From the Richmond Whig, June 16.

THE FREE STATE MOVEMENT IN KANSAS.

The sly and systematic movement inaugurated by the present Administration, and in process of execution under the auspices of Walker, to exclude Slavery from Kansas, and thus inflict a fatal blow upon the interests of the South, is receiving an exclusiveness of attention, from the bulk of the Southern press, which indicates a deep-felt and almost universal disappointment and indignation on the part of the Southern people. Scarcely any past event connected with the agitation of the Slavery question has provoked so much angry comment, or excited so general a distrust of the sincerity and honesty and fair dealing of the men selected to administer the affairs of Government. What is so specially significant in the present temper of the public mind at the South, touching the existing movement in Kansas, is, that those who aided in the elevation of Mr. Buchanan to the Presidency—the Democracy themselves—are those who are most loud and vehement in their denunciations of his crooked and faithless policy. If Whigs alone were the complainants in this matter, their course might be plausibly ascribed to partisan intolerance and malice. But such is not the case. It is the original friends and supporters of Buchanan and Breckenridge who lead the assault upon the Administration of their own making, and who are daily engaged in exposing its hypocrisies and its follies.

Little did any one of these ardent Democrats dream, during the heat of their advocacy of Buchanan's election last fall—although the fact was often predicted by the friends of Fillmore—that in less than three months after the inauguration of their new President, the South would be foully betrayed, and Kansas delivered over bodily to the Free-Soilers and Abolitionists. Little did they imagine that the promises and assurances which they then made to the Southern people, in regard to the perfect soundness and reliability of their candidate for the Presidency, would be so soon falsified and annulled by the events of his Administration. Little did they conceive that theirs would be the ungrateful and painful task of tearing from the brow of James Buchanan the beautiful and captivating mask with which they themselves had adorned him. Yet so it is. Three short months ago, the man of their choice and of their most extravagant encomiums succeeded to power, amid the warm congratulations and the pleasing anticipations of all of them; but *now* he is the special object of their distrust, rebuke, and denunciation. They feel and know that he has deceived and betrayed them, as every one of their Presidents, without exception, have done before; and their only alternative now is to attempt to make some atonement to the Southern people, for having palmed off upon them another "Northern man with Southern principles"—a second edition, as we always contended he was, of Martin Van Buren.

It is very true that the Presidential contest last fall turned upon the question of Slavery or no Slavery in Kansas. That was the exclusive issue in the Southern States, and the Southern people were appealed to and invoked to support Buchanan, upon the ground that his election would insure the ascendency of the slave power in Kansas, through his faithful adhesion to the doctrine of non-intervention, as set forth in the Kansas-Nebraska bill. To show that such was the fact, and such the predominant idea of the Southern people, we quote a paragraph to this effect from *The South* of yesterday. Speaking of the last Presidential contest, that paper says: "The Kansas controversy was a controlling issue in the canvass; and Mr. Buchanan was indebted to no small share of strength in the South, to the conviction that he was *favorable to the interests of Slavery in the Territory.* Does anybody deny this assertion? It can be easily enough established, out of the columns of any Democratic paper this side of the Potomac. When the friends of Fillmore brought those placards from Pennsylvania, with the inscription of "Buchanan, Breckinridge, *and Free* Kansas," did we not indignantly deny that our candidate was in favor of making Kansas a free State, and did we not protest his devotion to the interests of the South? The people believed us, and Mr. Buchanan was elected by the almost unanimous vote of the South."

"*The people believed us, and Mr. Buchanan was elected by the almost unanimous vote of the South!*" Nor was that the first time that the Southern people ever placed confidence in the representations of the Democracy touching the soundness and reliability of their Presidential candidate on the Slavery question. In every similar contest for twenty years or more, commencing with Van Buren in 1836, we have had a repetition of the scenes enacted last fall. The ears of the Southern people have been stunned with assurances that the Presidential candidate of the Democracy was worthy of all trust and confidence. We were so assured in the case of Van Buren, and what has he proved himself to be? We were so assured in the case of Polk, and did he not sign the Oregon bill with the Wilmot proviso attached? We were so assured in the case of Cass; and who stands forth to-day, the recognised father and champion of the odious and detestable heresy of Squatter Sovereignty? We were so assured in the case of Pierce; and did he not side with the Free-Soilers of his party in New York, as against the Nationals, and was he not denounced therefor by his own organs, from one end of the South to the other? And last of all, and worse than all, we were so assured in the case of Buchanan; and what is now—in less than three months after his inauguration—the almost unanimous verdict of the South in regard to his soundness respecting the interests of Slavery?

Correspondence of the South Side Democrat.

FREE NEGROES.

MECKLENBURG Co., *June* 18, 1857.

Something should be done by our next Legislature to better the condition of this unfortunate class, as well as to relieve ourselves of their presence. Every day furnishes us with additional materials of proof to convince us that the free negro and the slave should not exist in the same community. The presence of the free black in our midst breeds corruption, and it is necessary for us to take active means to rid ourselves of them; and the sooner that end is accomplished, the sooner will we be enabled to control the conduct of the slave. The free negro is the medium through which the slave is enabled to dispose of stolen effects—the medium through which the slave is enabled to procure ardent spirits—the medium through which the Northern emissary is enabled to work mischief—in fine, he is an agent of corruption, powerful to do harm, and impotent to do good.

The negro has but little industry, economy, foresight, or mind, and without control and direction—in other words, in a state of freedom—is incapable, by the experience of every Southern community, of either providing properly for his wants, or improving his social condition.

The laws of Virginia give the free negro but few privileges. His freedom is abridged; his natural inferiority prevents him from being placed upon an equality with the white man. Self-preservation prompted our Legislature to pass laws preventing his education; his testimony is ignored in our courts of justice, in both civil and criminal cases, except in such cases as the black man is alone interested; he is not recognised as a citizen by the laws of the State, and is incapable of making himself worthy of citizenship.

It is useless to discuss the point: Is the negro capable of enjoying freedom? Every day furnishes us with new illustrations, and it is only necessary for us to open our eyes, to be convinced that he is either born for barbarism or bondage. It would be an act of charity for us to dispose of them by giving them masters to look after and minister to their wants. Ignorant, degraded, and poor, they live out a miserable existence; half clothed and half-fed; living like a dog without a master, prowling about, making that his own which he chances to find. It is a race that needs the guardianship of a superior; and under the control of that superior, their labor conduces to the highest production of agricultural and mechanical industry, as well as secures the greatest amount of happiness that could attend the blacks.

All negroes brought to America were brought as slaves—all free negroes are the descendants of those slaves—and being incapable of proper self-preservation, should return into Slavery. I believe Slavery to be, as I have heard it expressed, "a moral, political, and social good"—a blessing both to the black and the white man; it elevates the negro from the most degraded condition, makes him useful to himself and useful to others; improves his morals, and gives him an opportunity of arriving at the highest state of mental and moral improvement that his imbecility will permit of. In view of this, I am in hopes our Legislature will take action upon the subject, and provide every free negro, whose choice it is to remain in the State, with a suitable master. I am aware that there are persons that would object to this summary means of disposing of them; and others, who do not conceive of any suitable plan by which it could be carried into effect. To them I will say, there is a practical and humane system by which it could be effected.

Give every such negro a reasonable time to leave the State. If it is his choice to remain, let him be appraised and sold at a certain per cent. under valuation, permitting him to choose his master, provided the amount required be paid for him. I say, let him be sold at a certain per cent. under valuation; that would go far to procure for him the master that he would most prefer. Let the proceeds of these sales go to defray the expenses of those whose choice it would be to leave the State; and if it be insufficient for that purpose, let the negro be hired until an adequate amount be raised.

If it should please the Legislature to pass such a law, I hope they will not permit any such negro to be sold out of the State, or carried out of the State after being sold, for it should be the policy of every true Virginian to keep as many slaves as possible in the State.

If there is any odium attached to this system of ridding ourselves of the greatest *nuisances* in our land, there is odium attached to Slavery itself; for if Slavery is right, it is right for us to enslave those whose condition will be improved thereby. C. A.

From the St. Louis (Mo.) Democrat, June 11.

THE POLICY OF GOV. WALKER IN KANSAS.

We have never doubted, from the moment we saw the announcement of Walker's appointment to Kansas, and the flourish made about his intention to secure the right of every man in that Territory to vote, that the Administration had taken the alarm, and given up the idea of driving the white men out of the Territory at the point of the bayonet, to make room for negro slaves. That policy had been pursued by the last Administration until it was no longer safe, and it had become evident that if the people of the country had known one-half of the rascality practiced by *Pierce*, it would have insured Buchanan's defeat. This conviction had got to be so strong, that it was necessary in Pennsylvania and other States to proclaim Mr. Buchanan the friend of Free Kansas in order to secure his election, and made it necessary to give up the scheme of fixing Slavery in that Territory by the military power of the Government. This was and is a very ticklish point for the Administration, for there is little doubt that the Southern politicians consider Mr. Buchanan as pledged to that scheme; and it is equally clear, that if he sticks to these pledges, every vestige of a Democratic party will disappear from the North. Hence arose the necessity of adhering to the bogus Kansas laws, which are so contrived as to give the Pro Slavery party, with scarcely a tithe of the voting population on their side, the complete control of the Territory, and of sending out Robert J. Walker as Governor, for the purpose of prevailing on the Pro-Slavery men to give up their plan of making it a slave State. If Buchanan had failed to recognise the bogus laws, he would have had the whole South about his ears. If he had sustained them, and thus made Kansas a slave State, he would have annihilated his whole party at the North. It was necessary, therefore, whilst appearing to side with the South, by sustaining the fraudulent code, to take measures by which Kansas might be made a free State without giving offence to the South. Hence the appointment of Walker as Governor, and the proclaimed policy that it is to be made a free State; but a *Democratic free State*, with Walker and Stanton for the first U. S. Senators.

Since it has become evident that Kansas is to be free, we do not intend to trouble ourselves about the distress which Walker and Buchanan and others will suffer in reconciling the North to the forfeiture of their pledges to make it a slave State. Their Southern taskmasters will lay the lash on them when they discover the double game that is playing, and we expect to see the blood flow, and the welts rise on their backs—but we shall not enjoy the triumph of seeing Kansas made a free State any the less, because the Administration have been scared out of their design of forcing Slavery there with the military arm of the Government, which is the only way it ever has or even can be carried or sustained there.

There is one difficulty, however, in the way of Mr. Walker's plan. In sustaining the bogus laws, they have placed the whole power of the Territory in the hands of a small squad of Pro-Slavery fanatics, the most of whom have been guilty of gross outrages against the Free State men of the Territory. If they should allow themselves to be persuaded to make it a free State, they run the risk of being prosecuted for the crimes they have committed, and they will not have Cato and Lecompte to admit them to bail and allow them to escape. Will the murderers of Barber or those who murdered Phillips, or Jones, who cut such fantastic tricks as sheriff of Douglas county, like to be tried by a Free State judge and jury, in order to send Walker and Stanton to the Senate, or relieve Mr. Buchanan of his embarrassment? We feel very little interest in the answer to this question, for the simple reason, that no matter what the Convention called under the bogus laws may do, the destiny of Kansas cannot be changed. It is certain to be a free State; and when a State, the United States troops cannot interfere, nor can the infamous judges put there by Pierce prevent those who have committed so many crimes from being punished as they deserve. Nor will the Federal offices conferred by Mr. Buchanan upon the perpetrators of crime shield them from the arm of justice, when Kansas becomes a State.

THE NORTHERN PRESS.

From the Belleville (Ill.) Advocate.

NORTHERN AGGRESSION AND SOUTHERN FORBEARANCE.

The Independence of the United States was acknowledged by Great Britain in 1783. The area of the country at that day, in square miles, was 820,680. In the year 1803, Louisiana was purchased of France, for which fifteen millions of dollars were paid. The area of this purchase was 899,579 miles. Three slave States, Louisiana, Missouri, and Arkansas, have been formed out of this Territory, and admitted into the Union. All of the Louisiana purchase north of the parallel 36° 30′ was consecrated to Freedom by the Missouri Compromise. Bogus Democracy has discovered that this Compromise was unconstitutional, and now there is no hope that a single free State will be added to the Union formed out of the Territory purchased of France. In 1819, Spain ceded Florida to the United States. By this cession, the area of Slavery was enlarged 66,900 square miles. The Texas grab game is now understood by all. While the North was busy making money, the South sent colonies into Texas. The colonists got up a war with Mexico, and, after some fighting, declared their independence, soon after applied for admission into the Union, and the area of Slavery was still further enlarged by 318,000 square miles. Next followed the Oregon treaty, by which we acquired 308,052 square miles. The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill virtually opened all the territory of the United States to Slavery. Oregon has been principally settled by emigrants from Western Missouri. Their ability to force Slavery into any Territory has been pretty clearly demonstrated by the history of Kansas. The chances are now in favor of Oregon's being admitted as a slave State. Next in order comes the treaty with Mexico, by which we gained 522,955 square miles of territory. The accidental discovery of gold in California caused such a rush of emigration from the free States and Europe, that Slavery was for the first and only time driven to the wall. Since the peace of 1783, by purchase, cession, filibustering, and war, we have added to the national domain 2,115,486 square miles, at a cost of $830,000,000. What have the free States gained from the territory thus gained? The admission of one free State, California, with two Senators and two Representatives. What have the slave States gained? Louisiana, Missouri, Arkansas, Florida, and Texas, and eight Senators and fourteen Representatives.

This is a remarkable instance of Northern aggression!

The census of 1850 gives the number of whites in the free States at 13,330,650, while the number of whites in the slave States is placed at 6,222,418, giving the free States a little more than twice the slave States. The United States Treasury Reports show that more than three-fourths of the cash paid into the Treasury is drawn from the free States. The free States, then, have paid $622,500,000 for the territory acquired since the peace of 1783, and their show for the outlay of this vast capital is the State of California, with two Senators and two Representatives! To sum up, we, the people of the free States, furnish more than three-fourths of the money to foot the bills for territory which is prostituted to Slavery. We pay our own postage bills, and one half of the postage bills of the South. Every man, woman, or child, living north of Mason and Dixon's line, pays four and one half cents postage on each letter, while every letter mailed south of this line pays one cent and one half. We pay for the support of the younger sons of the Southern aristocracy in numbers that would be hard to estimate. Whenever a Southern gentleman has more sons at home than his negroes are able to support, by some means or other they are enabled to thrust their hands into the National Treasury, by appointment in the Army and Navy. The California appointments made by the present Administration are in point. Ten young sprigs, every one of them from the South, have just been appointed to comfortable places in the free State of California! We can, at a moment's warning, furnish any number of highly-respectable citizens, lovers of "the Union, the Constitution, and the Bible," willing to capture and return all fugitives from the South. After doing all this, and much more, how very reasonable is all the outcry which we hear about Northern aggression upon the South! How forbearing, how long-suffering, how meek, patient, and Christian-like, is the South, in the endurance of all this fearful oppression by the North!

From the same.

A DEMOCRATIC CAUCUS—BURN THE BOOKS.

The Sham Democracy had assembled in solemn conclave. The all-important business before them was to devise ways and means to retain perpetually in their hands the spoils. At a previous meeting, a committee had been appointed to take the matter into consideration, with power to call the party together, as soon as it was ready to report. The report had been completed, and the Democracy, at the call of the committee, had come together. Without further preface, we proceed to lay the report of the committee before our readers. We do this without charge, in advance of the St. Clair *Tribune and State Register*, and all the Democratic organs, and without solicitation on the part of the Sham Democracy:

"Your committee beg leave to report, that it has had under careful consideration the subject of the perpetual enjoyment of the offices and patronage of the General and State Governments. Your committee is unanimously of the opinion, that the very life of the Democratic party depends upon the patronage of the Government, and that without it, its organization and efficiency could not be maintained three months. Profoundly convinced of this truth, your committee would respectfully suggest that common schools, general education, and newspapers, are inimical to Democracy; and that it behooves the Democracy to crush out these its most formidable foes. In proof that common schools and general intelligence are antagonistic to Democracy, your committee would call your attention to the following facts, which have been gathered from the census of 1850:

"Eleven States voted for Fremont. In these States, there are 43,023 free schools, 51,913 teachers, and 1,990,991 scholars.

"Nineteen States voted for Buchanan. In these States, there are only 37,019 free schools, 39,029 teachers, and 1,327,660 scholars. This shows that the eleven Fremont States have 6,004 more free schools, 12,884 teachers, and 663,331 more scholars, than the nineteen Buchanan States. The eleven Fremont States have 800 public libraries, and 795,608 volumes; while the nineteen Buchanan States have only 393 public libraries, and 529,552 volumes.

"But the greatest discrepancy between the Fremont and Buchanan States is between the number of school libraries in the former and latter. And here precisely is to be found the root of the great evil of which we complain. But few persons comparatively have access to the public libraries, and hence but few are corrupted by them; but the cause of Democracy would be advanced, if the torch was applied to the whole of them. They ought to be burned.

"But the common-school libraries are emphatically the libraries of the masses. Here the children are corrupted, and become estranged from Democracy. In the Fremont States, there are 11,809 common-school libraries, while in the Buchanan States there are only 250. Where, your committee would ask, would have been Democracy in the late Presidential struggle, if the Buchanan States had been as well supplied with common-school libraries as the Fremont States? Your committee finds the number of copies of newspapers printed annually in the Fremont States to be 234,968,627, while in the Buchanan States the number is found to be only 160,603,623. Finally, the number of persons in the Buchanan States who can neither read nor write is 740,400, while in the Fremont States there are only 240,418, leaving half a million in favor of the Buchanan States. The only apology your committee has to offer, for taking up so much of your time with these statistics, is the great truth enforced thereby. They clearly show that Democracy cannot exist with common schools, common-school libraries, newspapers, and the ability to read and write. That the rank and file of Democracy must have some instruction, your committee has to admit. How this instruction is to be communicated has been maturely considered by your committee. The Richmond *Enquirer*, one of the most influential of the Democratic organs, lately contained an elaborate article, showing the great superiority of oral to written instruction. It was clearly demonstrated, that not only the negroes, but the poor whites also, were made very miserable and unhappy by the ability to read and write. Many Southern divines have also added their testimony in favor of the superiority of oral instruction. By this mode of instruction, just the amount of intelligence necessary can be communicated, and no more. In fact, all that is essential to be known by the rank and file of the Democracy can be communicated orally from the stump. Discreet persons can always be found for the purpose, who will confine themselves principally to the absolute necessity of the Democracy's voting the straight Democratic ticket, and no other. To give variety to their speeches, they will dwell at length upon the intelligence of the people, the danger to be apprehended from a dissolution of the Union, the perfidious wishes of Northern fanatics, the Hartford Convention, the old United States Bank, and other kindred topics.

"By the adoption of this mode of instruction, the people will be saved from the trouble of thinking for themselves, and freed from the necessity of reading newspapers and consulting common-school libraries. For these reasons, and many others that will suggest themselves, your committee recommend that newspapers, books, and common schools, be discouraged, and oral instruction substituted.

"Your committee would state, further, that the facts above stated are shown by the census of 1850; namely, that in the eleven Republican States, there is an excess over our Democratic States of 6,004 free schools, of 12,884 teachers, of 663,331 scholars or pupils; of newspapers, an excess annually of 74,365,004 copies in eleven free States, over those printed in nineteen slave States, for your committee thinks that a doughface is as good as a slave; of public libraries, an excess in said free States of 407, and 266,056 volumes; and of common-school libraries, an excess in said eleven free States over said nineteen slave States, of 11,559 libraries, and of 1,480,465 volumes; and your committee find that the free white population of the said eleven Fremont States, and of the lone American star, Maryland, the Fighter, the only feather in Fillmore's cap, falls only a million and a quarter, exactly 1,260,080, short of the same population in all the nineteen Buchanan States, and that the votes for his two competitors amount to more than a quarter of a million, exactly 380,530, more than those cast for our own "Union, Constitution, and Bible" candidate. Your committee find, and so report, that the cause of Democracy is in a bad way; that between Border Ruffianism in Kansas and in the Supreme Court, in the presence of school-masters, school-mistresses, newspapers, and books, that glorious cause is doomed to decline, unless you can devise some measure to crush out these enemies. Hoping that your wisdom may find the remedy, we remain

"YOUR FAITHFUL DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE."

We verify and testify to the facts and figures above contained.—*Advocate.*

GOVERNOR WALKER'S POLICY IN KANSAS.

From the Topeka Statesman, of June 9.

In compliance with an invitation from the citizens of Topeka, Governor Walker, accompanied by Secretary Stanton and Mr. E. O. Perrin, visited our town on Saturday last, for the purpose of forming an acquaintance with our people, of ascertaining their views and wishes, of interchanging sentiments, and of promoting feelings of mutual confidence and good will. At four o'clock, pursuant to previous notice, a meeting of our citizens, alike numerous and intelligent, was convened at the public hall, in order to hear an expression of the Governor's views in regard to the existing difficulties and his plan of adjustment, and to confer freely with him on the various topics now engrossing the attention of the people of the whole Territory. Colonel Holliday presided, and introduced Governor Walker, who advanced and said:

FELLOW-CITIZENS: Upon the invitation of the citizens of the town of Topeka and its vicinity, I rise to commune with you in regard to those most important interests which are connected with the administration of the Territory of Kansas.

At the earnest request of the President of the United States, I consented to come here and occupy the position of Governor of Kansas. I do not come among you as a volunteer. I have not sought this position. On the contrary, I have accepted it, and I am free to say with great diffidence, growing out of the conviction impressed upon the minds of the Chief Magistrate of the Union and all his Cabinet, that the peace, not only of this beautiful Territory of yours, but that of the whole Union, depended upon the settlement of those difficult and exciting questions which have heretofore introduced civil war and discord throughout your borders. When, therefore, the matter was presented to me in that light by the President of the United States and all his Cabinet, I felt called on, notwithstanding my deep sense of the responsibility which I was required to assume, to withdraw my declination of this office, and accept the proffered trust.

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My doctrine is this: that in the future, when the Constitution shall be submitted to the vote of the citizens of Kansas, that it shall be submitted to the vote of the whole people. I do not mean those who are now registered under the Territorial law; I do not mean those who were residing here on the 15th of March last; but I mean the whole people of Kansas—not only those who are here now, but those who will be here next fall as actual residents; that they, the people over whom these institutions are to operate—that they, by a majority of their votes, shall decide for themselves what shall be their Constitution, and what shall be their social institutions.

On this subject I desire, I repeat, to read to you an extract from my inaugural address to the people of the Territory of Kansas, together with the views of the President of the United States: "Indeed, I cannot doubt that the Convention"—(I mean the Convention which is about to meet in September next)—"after having framed a State Constitution, will submit it for ratification or rejection by a majority of the then actual *bona fide* resident settlers of Kansas." With these views, well known to the President and Cabinet, and approved by them, I accepted the appointment of Governor of Kansas. My instructions from the President, through the Secretary of State, under date of the 30th of March last, sustain "the regular Legislature of the Territory" in "assembling a Convention to form a Constitution;" and they express the opinion of the President that, "when such a Constitution shall be submitted to the people of the Territory, they must be protected in the exercise of their right of voting for or against that instrument; and the fair expression of the popular will must not be interrupted by fraud or violence."

I come now to my own individual views: "I repeat, then, as my clear conviction, that unless the Convention submit the Constitution to the vote of all the actual resident settlers of Kansas, and the election be fairly and justly conducted, the Constitution will be, and ought to be, rejected by Congress." [Cries of "good."] Gentlemen, on this subject I wish that there should be no mistake, no misapprehension as regards my opinions and the policy which I shall deem it my duty to pursue in the administration of the executive department of the Territory of Kansas. It is involved in a few simple words: That the majority of the people of Kansas must govern; [cries of "right;"] that the majority of the people of Kansas must adopt their own Constitution or reject it; that the majority of the people of Kansas, at the polls, must decide whether they will be a slave State or a free State. [Applause.]

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Now, then, gentlemen, as to the mode in which this is to be accomplished. I presume we all agree—at least, I hope we do—as to the doctrine that the majority of the people of Kansas shall establish their own Constitution, and introduce such social institutions as the majority prefer. But how is this to be done? The Congress of the United States has established for Kansas but one mode of action on this subject, and that action is through the Territorial Legislature.

Now, none of you can regret more than I do any of those deplorable and calamitous circumstances which have taken place in the past. For myself, I wish to overlook the past, and look forward to a better and brighter future. That Territorial Legislature has, in respect to the authority over this question, been recognised by the acts of Congress of 1856 and 1857. That Legislature has called a Convention to assemble in September next. That Constitution they will or will not submit to the vote of the majority of the then actual resident settlers of Kansas. If they do not thus submit it, I will join you, fellow-citizens, in lawful opposition to their course. [Cries of "good," and cheers.] And I cannot doubt, gentlemen, that one much higher than I, the Chief Magistrate of the Union, will join you in opposition.

But, gentlemen, for myself, I cannot doubt that that Convention will submit such an instrument as they may frame for the adoption or rejection of the whole people of Kansas, to all who now are or then may be actual *bona fide* resident settlers of the Territory of Kansas. Then, at that time, and in pursuance of the method designated by the laws of your country, by the instructions of the Chief Magistrate of the Union, who was placed there by the people, and sworn by them to execute the laws, I do not entertain a doubt but that that Convention will submit to the whole of the then *bona fide* settlers of Kansas the determination for themselves, by an actual majority of the whole people, whether they shall adopt or reject that Constitution. If they reject it, there is an end of that Convention. It has performed its office. It has adjourned, never to meet again. [A Voice, "What next?"]

What next? you ask, gentlemen. There are two other easy exits from the difficulty; and as the question is a practical one, I propose to answer it. In October next, not under the act of the late Territorial Legislature, but under the laws of Congress, you, the whole people of Kansas, have a right to elect a delegate to Congress, and to elect a Territorial Legislature; and through that Legislature you can speak your views, and instruct them, either to call a new Convention to submit a new Constitution for the consideration of the people, or they can instruct their delegate to Congress, chosen by a majority of their own votes, to ask Congress to pass a law authorizing the people of Kansas to form a State Constitution for themselves. It is quite certain, gentlemen, that in this mode there is, in any event, a peaceful, tranquil, quiet exit from all the embarrassments and difficulties by which you are surrounded, and that the time is rapidly coming, if it has not already arrived, when the rule of justice and the people shall prevail in Kansas. [Cheers.]

Then, gentlemen, what is the other mode which is presented? You are about to have assembled here, at Topeka, next week, what is called the State Legislature; for they tell you that they are now about to convene a Legislature for the State of Kansas. Who elected that Legislature? [A voice, "The people."] The people! Why, the whole vote given for your so-called Constitution, as claimed by yourselves, was but 1,731; whereas there are now registered over 10,000 voters, residents here on on the 15th of March last, exclusive of the thousands omitted or who have arrived here since that date. The people! Do you mean to tell me that 1,731 votes constitutes the whole number of votes in the Territory of Kansas? [A voice, "That was a year and a half ago."]

But should those 1,731 votes a year and a half ago impose a Constitution for all time to come upon the present people of Kansas? [A voice, "Not against their will."] Should the Constitution be submitted to their will, for adoption, or not? [A voice, "Yes."] That, gentlemen, is the great question, so far as they are concerned.

But I understand you claim to be a State now, and that your so-called Legislature, chosen by a small number of votes, propose next week to enact laws to be enforced in Kansas. This miserable minority, constituting not one-tenth of the present people of Kansas, propose, in absolute defiance of the acts of Congress, and in open rebellion, mark you, gentlemen, not only against the Territorial laws, but against the laws and Government of the United States, to assemble here, and, representing 1,731 people, impose this Constitution by force upon the people of Kansas by the enactment of laws. [A voice, "Where are those 10,000 voters that are not on the record?"] Some inadvertently omitted, many who would not register, and thousands who have arrived since the 15th of March last. As regards the register, however, I say to you that it is of comparatively little consequence, if the Constitution be submitted to the whole people. It may suit the purposes of faction to ask such questions by those who refuse to register, but the substantive fact is, that the Constitution can be of no force or effect, unless it is submitted to the vote of the people; and if it is so submitted, it is for them to declare whether they will adopt it or not. But here is a body of men acting in defiance of the laws of Congress, and in open rebellion against the Government of the United States—representing, according to their own statement, less than one-tenth of the people of Kansas, who come forward and say that the people next fall shall not decide this question! That neither you nor I, nor any of our fellow-citizens elsewhere throughout the Territory, shall have the right to determine whether we shall accept the new Constitution, or reject it!

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But what is it this Legislature proposes to do? Without the slightest necessity, without the slightest pretext or apology under the mode of adjustment now proposed—I speak not now as regards the past; I wish to God that you, and I, and all of us, could rub out the past. [A voice, "It cannot be done." Another voice, "Rub out the bogus laws."] Rub them out, gentlemen, if you please, by a vote of the people. [A voice, "We cannot get that."] You can get that. [A voice, "Give us a fair vote at the next election."] You will get that. At the next election in October, when you elect the Territorial Legislature, you can repeal those laws, and you can then also, by a majority of your own votes, adopt or reject the Constitution presented for your consideration next fall.

Now, what, I ask again, is proposed to be done by this Legislature? It is proposed to put in operation a body of laws. But you must remember the passage of laws is no farce; it is not a humbug. [A voice, "It has been here."] A law is a command; it exacts obedience from the whole people, and is to be actually put in force in the Territory. What is the consequence? Why, you thus produce an absolute, clear, direct, and positive collision between that Legislature and the Government of the United States. There are two sets of laws, then, to govern you. Every man's contract, every man's title, every man's possession, will then be involved in difficulty, and, in the course of three or four months, you will have a large importation of lawyers. [A voice, "We have plenty of them now." Laughter.] It will involve you in endless litigation, from which there will be no possible extrication.

Now, gentlemen, is there any necessity for this? [A voice, "None; not a bit; there never was."] Can you not peacefully decide this question in the mode pointed out by the act of Congress, if, as you can and will have, a full opportunity of recording your vote? [A voice, "Why have we not had it?"] Gentlemen, I was not Governor of Kansas, and Mr. Buchanan was not President of the United States. [A voice, "How are we to get it?"] You will get it by the Convention submitting the Constitution to the vote of the whole people. [A voice, "Who is to elect the Convention? That is the grand question."] Gentlemen, it is a comparatively small point by whom the Constitution is to be submitted. Don't let us run away after shadows. Do not refuse to register, and then say you can't vote. The great substantial point is this: Will the whole people of Kansas, next fall, by a fair election, impartially and fairly conducted by impartial judges, have an opportunity to decide for themselves what shall be their form of government, and what shall be their social institutions. I say they will; but I go a step further. [A voice, "Have you the power?"] If I have not the power to bring it about; if the Convention will not do it, I will join you in lawful opposition to their proceedings. [Cries of "Good, good." A voice, "We will hold you to your promise." Another voice, "How are we to vote for this here Convention?" Another voice, "Nothing can be asked fairer than what he says."]

Well, gentlemen, I have no power to repeal the laws that have been passed in reference to the Convention, and, if those laws have not been fairly executed, it is simply no fault of mine. [A voice, "Has not James Buchanan power to repeal those laws?" Another voice, "Hasn't he sanctioned them?"] He has had nothing to do with them, but the Congress of the United States has authorized the Territorial Legislature to pass laws. The President of the United States has taken an oath to carry the laws into effect; and it is for you, if you are opposed to those laws, through the people's vote, to repeal them. [A voice, "We cannot get at them."] There is not the least difficulty about your getting at them. [A voice, "Keep out Missouri, and we will do well enough."]

Well, gentlemen, I pledge myself to you that, so far as my power is concerned, and I do not doubt that you are not in any event to have reenacted here the scenes of the past; but, so far as my power is concerned, I pledge myself that the people of Kansas, and of Kansas alone, and not the people of Missouri, or of Massachusetts, or of any other State, shall interfere, even by one single vote, to decide for the people of Kansas what shall be their institutions. [A voice, "That is my doctrine." Cries of "Good, good."] But, gentlemen, they shall decide it for themselves. When these views of mine are not carried into effect; when you see that you will not have a full and fair opportunity to decide for yourselves what shall be your form of government and your social institutions, it will then be time enough to complain of me, but not till then. [Several voices, "That is right." Another voice, "What about the bogus laws?"]

And, now, I am asked about the bogus laws. Why, your very Governor, Mr. Robinson, has acknowledged those bogus laws, by putting into effect a charter passed by that bogus Legislature, and so have many of you and nearly all the people of Kansas. And if the bogus Legislature has power to pass charters, it has power to pass any other law not in conflict with the Constitution of the United States. [A voice, "How are these inspectors to be appointed?"] They must be appointed fairly and impartially, of course. [A voice, "Who is to appoint them?"] I doubt not that the Convention will prescribe a fair, just, and impartial method, as they do in other States. [A voice, "They did, in giving us two hundred and eighty voters in this county." Laughter.]

Well, gentlemen, let us look at the question. What have these two hundred and eighty voters to do, if you all have a fair vote next fall on the Constitution? [A voice, "There has been no census taken."] That has nothing on earth to do with the question. But whilst I most deeply regret and deplore the circumstance that there has been an insufficient census, what am I to think when told by those who profess to represent the Republican party of this Territory, that tell you that you should neither register nor vote? You were kept from registering, as you all know, by following the advice of these party leaders of yours, and then complain they cannot vote. You could have registered here if you pleased; and hundreds in this Territory, since hearing my plan, have expressed to me their deep regret that they had not registered; and many of your county, since my arrival, have changed their position, and resolved to vote. Every man who responds that he will not acknowledge those laws has been deprived of no privilege in not being registered, because he declares that, whether registered or not, he will not vote. If you dislike the Convention, do you best oppose it by standing aloof, and allowing a majority of other persons to adopt their Constitution, or by voting down that instrument? If you do not vote next fall, for or against that instrument, when you have a fair chance, Congress will act as though you had. No; you cannot defeat the Constitution by refusing to vote. [A voice, "The Governor is right, and we will vote, then."]

Now, gentlemen, I really believe I have detained you too long. There is nothing on earth that I love more than free opinion, a free press, and popular discussion. [Cries of "right."] Instead of objecting to it, I love to hear some few of you differ from me or ask questions. Come, let us reason together. Discarding passion and prejudice, regretting as you and I do all the difficulties that have occurred in the past, let us ask ourselves this great practical question, What is best for the great future of Kansas? [A voice, "The Topeka Constitution."] Well, gentlemen, I hope no one will say so, unless the man who believes that 1,731 voters should deprive some 20,000 or 30,000 voters now in the Territory, or that soon will be here, of deciding their own form of Government for themselves. [A voice, "How was it when the people of Missouri came here?"] I have nothing to do with the people of either Missouri or Massachusetts. I am only looking to the future. And I say, if you desire war—[loud cries of "no, no"]—if you desire conflict, ["no, no,"] if you desire to enter into a rebellion, not against the Territorial laws only, but against the Government of the United States, ["no, no,"] all you have to do is to set up the State Government against the Government approved by the President and the acts of Congress by the present enactment of State laws. [A voice, "Not now."] There cannot be a State Government without a State Governor, without its superseding the Governor appointed by the President of the United States under the laws of Congress. There cannot be a State Government without State Judges, and there cannot be State Judges without their superseding the Judges appointed by the President of the United States under the laws of Congress or a State Legislature. It means that, or it means nothing. Surely this is open rebellion against the Government of the United States, to which you tell me you do not mean to resort.

Now, then, gentlemen, I return you my most sincere thanks for the kind and indulgent attention with which you have listened to my remarks. [A voice, "What as to the taxes?"] Long before I am called on for any official action, the reign of law, of justice, and of the people, will be so fully established here, that, as good citizens, you will all cheerfully pay this small pittance to support your own Government. [A voice, "We will have a great deal more confidence in the vote of the people, to be given next fall, if you will tell us by what authority the Judges are to be appointed."] I will answer that question, for I have no doubt it is fairly asked, and in a fair spirit. [The voice, "It certainly is."]

I will say, then, to you, gentlemen, that if they do not appoint a fair and impartial mode by which the majority of the actual *bona fide* resident settlers of Kansas shall vote, through the instrumentality of impartial judges, I will join you all in lawful opposition to their doings, and the President and Congress will reject their Constitution. [A voice, "Will the Convention appoint impartial judges?"] It is their duty to do so. [A voice, "Will they do so?"] Gentlemen, I am not the Convention, but I do not doubt they will give you impartial judges. [A voice, "I will ask the Governor if there is any one who will be allowed to vote for this Convention, except those registered?"] As regards the past, I have got no power to recall it. The past is irrevocable, even by Almighty power; and I profess to have very little power, much less such power as that. Over the past I have no control, but over the future I have; and I say to you, that unless a full and fair opportunity is given to the whole people of Kansas to decide for themselves what shall be their form of Government, including the great sectional question which has so long divided you—unless, I repeat, they grant you such an opportunity, I have one power of which no man or set of men can deprive me, and to which I shall unhesitatingly resort; and that is, to join you in lawful opposition to their acts. [Cries of "Good, good," and loud applause, during which the Governor withdrew.]

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